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REMAINS

OF THE LATE REVEREND

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Se sub serenis vultibus
Austera virtus occulit,
Timens videri, ne suum,
Dum prodit, amittat decus.

PART THE SECOND.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

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HISTORY OF THE CONTEST

BETWEEN

THOMAS À BECKET, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY,

AND HENRY II., KING OF ENGLAND;

CHIEFLY CONSISTING OF TRANSLATIONS OF CONTEMPORARY
LETTERS, EXTRACTED FROM THE PRINTED EDITION
OF THE COLLECTION IN THE VATICAN,
AND FROM OTHER SOURCES.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following work does not aim at the character of a complete or regular History; its main object being simply to lay before the reader a series of letters, written during the continuance of the contest to which they relate; and thus to give him the means of forming his own judgment on the persons and parties engaged in it. A running comment only was required for the purpose of illustrating and connecting the letters themselves: the greater part of which it has been found necessary to supply; the Author's explanation unfortunately discontinuing at an early point in the History. The large type from page 113 to page 534, as well as the notes and translations which are inserted within brackets, are not the Author's.

The first few letters have appeared already in the British Magazine; which has also been used to supply the principal part of the second Chapter, and some of the earlier notes: those alterations only being made, which were necessary in transfer-

ring the passages from the pages of a Magazine, to those of a more formal work.

It may be proper to add, that the Author has not professed to translate with verbal exactness ; and that parts of the letters have been occasionally omitted in translating. Nothing however has been done to interfere with the spirit or substance of the original.

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PREFACE.

ACCOUNT OF THE DOCUMENTS REFERRED TO ON THE SUBJECT OF THOMAS A BECKET: EXTRACTED FROM THE BRITISH MAGAZINE, VOL. II.

THE sources of information which have been preserved to us on this subject are, considering its antiquity, unusually full and authentic. Among the rest, three more particularly deserve our notice, as well from the frequent reference which is made to them by Lord Lyttleton and Mr. Turner, as from their own importance as credible testimony. In the marginal notes to Lord Lyttleton's History of Henry II., and to this portion of Mr. Turner's History of England, the reader may have observed the frequent recurrence of the words, *Quadril.*, *Fitz-Steph.*, or *Stephan*, and *Ep. D. Thomæ*, or *Becket's Letters*; and of these I shall proceed to give some account.

Quadril., i. e. *Quadrilogus*, or *Historia Quadripartita*, is a narrative of the life and martyrdom of Thomas à Becket, compiled by order of Gregory XI., from the relations of four contemporary writers—*William*, a monk of St. Trinity, Canterbury; *Herbert de Boscham*, one of Becket's Chaplains, and the companion of his flight; *Alan*, a monk of St. Trinity, and afterwards Abbot of Tewkesbury; and *John of Salisbury*, one of the most celebrated writers of the twelfth century.

Of these the relation of *Alan* seems to possess the least

claims on our reliance. We have no evidence as to the degree of his personal knowledge respecting the scenes he describes, and much that he tells us is in its nature apocryphal, consisting of detailed conversations which none but a short-hand writer could have reported accurately, and of which many must have come to his knowledge only by hearsay. From *William* so little is taken, as to make it a question of slight moment who he was, or what were the sources of his knowledge. But the other two, *Herbert de Bosham* and *John of Salisbury*, deserve to be trusted as honest historians, who had the best information respecting all they state. The former was selected by Becket to assist his own studies on his first appointment to the See of Canterbury, and till the year 1165 seems to have been his almost constant companion. After this time, i. e. when Becket was settled at Pontigni, he seems to have been stationed at a convent at Rouen, as a sort of advanced guard to collect and communicate all that transpired in the King's court in Normandy; and occasionally to deliver some of those perilous messages which Becket found some trouble in transmitting to his adversaries. The extracts from Herbert, which appear in the Quadri-logue, are but a very small part of his work upon the subject; but the remainder has not been printed, and the manuscript is very rare; one of the few copies now extant is preserved in the library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

The remaining author, *John of Salisbury*, was a man above the ordinary stamp. He had been the old and intimate friend of Becket, from the time that Becket first entered the service of Theobald, and had kept up a correspondence with him all the time he was Chancellor. In the year 1163, when the misunderstanding between the King and the Archbishop first broke openly out, John of Salisbury was considered to be so implicated in the mea-

asures of his friend, that the court judged it prudent to interrupt their intercourse; and in the autumn of that year he was banished into France. From this time he resided principally at Rheims, with his old friend the Abbot of St. Remigius; and thence kept up a constant and most unreserved correspondence with Becket respecting all matters of importance that occurred subsequently. On all occasions of difficulty John of Salisbury was the first person consulted; Becket took no step without asking his advice, and never sent a letter on any delicate subject without his approbation. Conscious of his own liability to be carried away by the eagerness of the moment, he deferred in most instances to the judgment of his friend, and on one occasion cancelled at least two successive letters to the same person, in consequence of his expressing a wish to see them modified. John of Salisbury was permitted to return to England a short time before the final arrangement between Becket and the King; but this circumstance did not lead to any separation. He rejoined the Archbishop immediately on his restoration, and was one of those present in the Cathedral of Canterbury when his friend was murdered. He ended his life as Bishop of Chartres, to which rank he was raised as a reward for his learning and fidelity.

It is to be regretted that he left no fuller record of the events he witnessed, than the scanty preface with which he accompanied his published collection of the Archbishop's letters. A copy of this preface is preserved among the Laudian manuscripts in the Bodleian, which contains little besides the passages extracted in the *Quadrilogue*. Such is the book quoted as *Quadril.*, or *Hist. Quadripart.*

We next come to *Fitz-Steph.*, or *Stephan*, i. e. William Fitz-Stephen, who by his own account was a monk of Canterbury, and admitted to very close intimacy with the

Archbishop. His "Life of Becket" is rather a collection of anecdotes, than a continued narrative, and is told with much artlessness and spirit. If one may judge from the style, it seems to be a compilation; and this supposition is confirmed by the fact, that its relation of the Council of London is extracted from a more detailed account, preserved in the Cave manuscript in the Bodleian.

Lastly, the document referred to under the title *Ep. D. Thomæ*, or *Becket's Letters*, deserves especial notice. It is a collection of four hundred and thirty-five letters, which passed between the principal men in Europe, relating to the struggle between Church and State from 1165 to 1171. Baronius tells us that these letters were arranged and digested into five books by John of Salisbury, and that they have been preserved in the Vatican library. And we find from the forty-seventh letter of the fifth book, that a part at least, if not the whole of the collection, was consigned to its present place of custody by Becket himself; for in this letter, written just before his return to England, he makes the following request of Cardinal Gratian:—"Provideat etiam vestra discretio, ut urgentiores et efficaciores literæ quas Dominus noster (Papa) pro Ecclesia Regi transmisit, *Registro inserantur*."

If direct proof of the genuineness of these letters were wanting, still we should have ample evidence of it in their minute and intricate coincidences. But the best voucher for the fidelity with which they have been preserved, is the fact that they contain so much as they do to the disadvantage of the Pope and Cardinals, who would hardly have consented to the preservation of such a document, unless it was known to contain the *whole* truth. If any passages in the originals had been suppressed in these copies, the passages which discredit the Court of Rome would never have been left untouched; and from the fact that these are pre-

served, we may infer the genuineness of the whole correspondence.

The printed edition of these curious letters was edited at Brussels by Christianus Lupus, in the year 1682. But a manuscript copy of them exists in the Cotton collection, containing some letters which the Brussels edition omits ; and among others one of very great importance, which Lord Lyttleton supposes to have been purposely left out by the Editor. This important letter was written in the autumn of 1166, by Gilbert Foliot, Bishop of London. It is expressed with great talent and severity, and presents us with much historical matter, under an aspect very different from that which has been given to it by Becket's panegyrists.

In this sketch I have endeavoured to give some idea of the three principal sources, from which we derive our knowledge of Thomas à Becket. Besides these there are several others of minor importance, such as Roger Hooveden, from whom Wilkins has taken the letters given in his *Concilia* ; Radulphus de Diceto, and others, whose statements are of occasional value as supplementary to the three just mentioned, but are not sufficiently detailed, nor rest on sufficient authority to require our notice at present.

There are however two collections of letters besides the *Ep. D. Thomæ*, which it may be as well to mention here, since I shall have occasion to refer to them in the sequel. In the twelfth volume of the *Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum* are contained three hundred and three letters of John of Salisbury, of which only ninety-eight appear in Becket's correspondence ; the most of the others refer in some degree to his history. And in the Bodleian library there is a very ancient manuscript, presented in the middle of the last century by Sir Thomas Cave, which furnishes us with fresh matter respecting the character of Gilbert Foliot.

HISTORY OF THE CONTEST

BETWEEN

THOMAS À BECKET, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY,
AND HENRY II.

CHAPTER I.

CHARACTER OF THE ARCHBISHOP AND PRINCIPLE
OF HIS CONTEST WITH HENRY.

THE translator of the following letters has been led to take a view of the extraordinary person they relate to, very different from that commonly adopted either by his panegyrists or calumniators. Both these parties seem to take for granted, as an incontrovertible fact, that a sudden and extraordinary change took place in his whole external deportment, at the time of his promotion to the Archbishopric. It is supposed, that on entering this sacred office he took to himself the garb and habits of an ascetic devotee, and threw himself into the arms of what may be termed the "religious party" of that day; and on this hypothesis his admirers build their belief in his sudden wonderful conversion and extraordinary sanctity, while others infer from it that he was a gross hypocrite. Now after a careful examination of all that the writer has

been able to collect on this subject, he has found himself forced to admit, what may at first sight appear to others as incredible as it did to himself, that this general belief is altogether mistaken, and the historical statements on which it is built in direct contradiction to the truth. It appears to him absolutely certain, that so far from affecting a sudden and unusual change of external deportment, Thomas à Becket carried with him on his entrance into the Archiepiscopate, far more of the display of worldly splendour for which he was remarkable as Chancellor, than the custom of the times, and the general expectation of his contemporaries required of him—that *after* his advancement, as *before*, his dress and retinue were remarkable for their magnificence—his table, for its almost fastidious delicacy—his companions, for their rank and intellectual accomplishments—his studies, for their political and philosophical, rather than their religious character—and that the only change discernible in his pursuits and manner of living, was such as the change of his rank and occupations would necessarily suggest to a refined taste.

The facts on which this belief is founded are as follows.

1. A letter is extant, written from John of Salisbury to the Archbishop, in the spring of 1165, i. e. two years after his consecration, pressing on him in strong terms the duty of disengaging his mind from the class of studies in which he suffered himself to be absorbed, and of concentrating his hopes

and thoughts on matters of more lasting concernment. The passage is an interesting one, and shall be quoted entire.

“My advice to your Lordship,” says this excellent man, “and my earnest wish, and the sum of my entreaties, is this; that you commit yourself with your whole soul to the Lord and to your prayers. It is written in the Proverbs, ‘the name of the Lord is a strong tower, the righteous runneth into it, and is safe.’ In the mean time, to the best of your ability, put aside all other business; other things are important and necessary; but what I advise is still more important, because more necessary. The laws and the canons may profit much, but not for us under our present circumstances. Believe me, my Lord, ‘non hæc ista sibi tempus spectacula poscunt.’ These things are better food for curiosity than for devotion. Your Lordship recollects how it is written: “Let the priests, the ministers of the Lord, weep between the porch and the altar; and let them say, Spare thy people, O Lord.’ ‘I communed with my own heart,’ saith the Prophet, ‘and made diligent search’—‘in the day of my trouble I sought the Lord;’ thus teaching us that to cleanse and discipline the spirit is the way to ward off the lash of conscience, and to obtain for us the loving mercies of God.

“Who ever rose with a feeling of contrition from a study of the laws or even of the canons? The exercises of the Schools, too, are more likely to puff us up with the pride of science, than to kindle

within us any feeling of devotion. I would far rather see your Lordship's thoughts employed upon the Psalms, or on the sermons of the Blessed Gregory, than intent upon this philosophy of the Schools. Far better were it to confer on serious subjects with some spiritual person, and to warm your feelings by his example, than to dwell upon and discuss the subtle controversies of secular literature.

"God knows the sincerity with which I speak this—your Lordship will receive it as seems good to you. Yet be assured that if you do these things, God will be on your side, and you need not fear what flesh can do unto you. He knows that in our present troubles, we have no mortal arm to depend upon."

I have preferred giving this extract entire, to selecting particular passages from it, because there is something in the very tone and spirit of it, apart from the particular sentiments, which absolutely refuses to be explained on the common hypothesis, respecting the Archbishop's assumed character. I think it will be felt at once to be written by a sincere man to one whom he believes sincere; and at the same time, by a man disciplined in the ways of godliness, to one who would acknowledge himself as a disciple. If John of Salisbury believed the Archbishop to be a great saint, he never would have thought this advice either necessary or becoming. If he had regarded him as a hollow pretender to sanctity, he surely would have addressed him in a less affectionate and confidential tone. It

seems scarcely too much to say, that if this letter stood alone, uncorroborated by any parallel facts, yet, while its genuineness was admitted, it would cast a doubt on all the statements of subsequent historians.

2. Another letter has come down to us, written to the Archbishop a few months later, by another intimate friend of his—John, Bishop of Poitiers ; in which the latter remonstrates with him on the unnecessary and impolitic magnificence of his retinue and style of living, urging on him the necessity of husbanding his resources, and at the same time of conforming his habits to those of the religious establishment in which he was at that time living as an exile.

“It will be necessary for your Lordship, as far as one can judge from the present aspect of your affairs, to husband your resources in every possible way ; to let your enemies see that you are prepared for any sufferings to which your exile may reduce you. For this reason I have often warned your discretion, and must still anxiously press you to get rid of your superfluous incumbrances, and to consider the badness of the times, which promises you neither a speedy return, nor a safe one. Your wisdom ought to know, that no one will think the less of you, if, in conformity to your circumstances, and in condescension to the religious house which entertains you, you content yourself with a moderate establishment of horses and men, such as your necessities require.”

3. Again, if we turn to the charges brought against him by his enemies, we shall find them equally irreconcilable with the commonly received opinion.

Early in 1165, Nicolas of Rouen, a famous monk of the Archbishop's party, was deputed by him to lay his cause before the Empress Matilda (the mother of Henry II.) and found her greatly prepossessed against him by statements which she had heard from John of Oxford, afterwards Bishop of Norwich, the Archbishop's most active opponent. In the account of these accusations sent by Nicolas to the Archbishop after his interview, the following appear to be most prominent, viz. "that from the time of his consecration the persons he had kept about him and admitted to his confidence, were men distinguished rather for rank and talent than for religion : and that in disposing of his benefices he had looked rather to his own service than to God's ; promoting men of notoriously low character."

This is perhaps enough, though much more could be brought forward to the same purpose. For till some doubt is thrown over the genuineness of the letters from which the above extracts are taken, their authority must be admitted, even singly to be of greater weight than the testimony of subsequent historians, however unanimous.

And now having, as the writer supposes, sufficiently refuted the common mistake of the Archbishop's calumniators and panegyrists, he does not think it necessary to argue farther respecting a character which has been so entirely misunder-

stood ; but will proceed to state the impression which, after reading all he can collect on the subject, has remained upon his own mind, leaving to others to judge how far this is in accordance with known facts.

It appears to him that Thomas à Becket, during the time of his Chancellorship, though necessarily engaged in pursuits inconsistent with the sacred office of Deacon, and though entering into these pursuits with perhaps more than necessary keenness, preserved nevertheless throughout an innocence and even austerity of character, which, in a Layman, would have been justly regarded as a proof of unusual seriousness. This appears not only from the general assertions of all contemporary historians, who, though they have shown no desire to conceal the failings of this part of his life, are yet unanimous in their testimony to this effect ; but is likewise corroborated by circumstantial statements, to which of course more weight is due. For instance, we have the following anecdote of him, which of itself would lead to the inference, that his private habits were not exactly like those of other courtiers. It is said, that at one time when he was in attendance on the King at Stafford, a citizen at whose house he was lodging had the curiosity one night to enter his bed-room, in order to ascertain whether he slept there ; for that in consequence of the attentions which he had been observed to receive from a distinguished lady, many persons suspected him of improper intimacy with her. From

the appearance of his bed, says the story, it was evident that he had not that night occupied it, and the inquisitive host was returning, satisfied that his suspicions were correct, when to his astonishment he discovered the Chancellor sleeping on the floor, stretched at length on the bare boards, and only partially covered. Now it is obvious to say that this anecdote proves nothing: yet the considerate reader will doubtless bear in mind that it is not every Chancellor of whom such anecdotes have been preserved; nor will he regard the person of whose private habits we have even this slender notice, exactly in the same light as if we knew nothing of them. This anecdote is recorded by William of Canterbury, one of the authors of the *Quadrilogue*. From another of his biographers we hear of his having shown a degree of indignation at an act of profligacy in one of his suite, which does not seem to be felt generally by persons in his situation. We are told that one Richard de Ambli, a man of very high descent, availing himself of a report that a certain knight then on a foreign expedition was dead, had induced his wife to consent to an adulterous connexion with him, and that the Chancellor, on discovering it, was not content with dismissing him from his service, but subjected him to a long and rigorous imprisonment in the Tower. Again the same writer, when mentioning the severe penitential discipline to which he was in the habit of subjecting himself, adds the circumstance (a gratuitous falsehood, if not an ascertained fact) that

when in London he received it at the hands of Raoul, Prior of St. Trinity; and when in Canterbury, from Thomas, a Priest of St. Martin's. And again, when asserting the spotless purity of the Chancellor's moral conduct, he appeals to the declaration of his Confessor, Robert, Canon of Merton, "from whom," says he, "I heard it myself."

For these, then, and similar reasons, the writer believes Thomas à Becket to have been, when Chancellor, in many respects a sincerely religious man. And further, when he takes into consideration the vast interval which in those days was supposed to separate the sacredness of the Diaconal and Priestly offices, he cannot regard the ignorance which allowed him to unite the former with a secular calling, with the same severity which would be due to it at present. Nor again, even were this error less excusable than it appears to have been, should he on that account allow it to efface the very rare and noble assemblage of qualities of which it is the solitary blemish.

If we could forget the fact that Thomas à Becket when Chancellor of England was not a layman, there are perhaps few characters of his age that we should contemplate with more unmixed pleasure and admiration. As principal law officer of the kingdom, the difficult task devolved on him of re-establishing order and good government, in a country habituated to anarchy for twenty years. And the ease and rapidity, with which he accomplished

the pestilence and the sword, and those other angels of His by whom mighty men are mightily tormented.

“ Let us but secure the favour of those guardians of the Church of Canterbury whose memory ought ever to be before us, and, by God’s grace, this storm will yet blow over us. Nor do I doubt that they are now propitious to us, if we but place our hearts upon our ways, and so exercise ourselves in God’s laws as not to be hearers only, but doers of them. Farewell.”

The Pope’s correspondence with the Bishop of London had hitherto been of the most complimentary kind ; he had expressed the most complete satisfaction at Henry’s professions ; and his allusions to the money, due to himself under the head Peter’s pence, had been accompanied with the fullest expressions of trust and confidence. The following letters written about the end of 1165, or early in 1166, threaten to assume a more authoritative tone.

THE POPE, TO GILBERT, BISHOP OF LONDON¹.

“ Although yourself and your brother Bishops have of late, in many parts of your conduct appeared remiss, lukewarm, and negligent ; yet as we know you for a man of learning and integrity, as well as more than ordinary abstinence, we have selected you as the fittest subject for our Apostolical remonstrance.

“ Hereby, then, we warn and charge you to choose an early opportunity, such as your intimacy with his Majesty the King of England will doubtless afford you, of laying before his Majesty the heinous nature of his conduct. You are to bid him discontinue the practice in which he

¹ Ep. i. 67.

has hitherto persisted, of confusing secular and ecclesiastical causes; so that the affairs of the Church may henceforth be arranged by churchmen, and that none but matters strictly civil be brought before his Majesty's Judges. Moreover, his Majesty is forthwith to receive our venerable Brother, the Archbishop of Canterbury, with the honour due to his station, and to reinstate him, together with his fellow-exiles, in their former rights and possessions, making good all the arrears which have accumulated during their absence. These things you are to intimate to his Majesty on the earliest befitting occasion.

“Moreover, you yourself are to render to the see of Canterbury that submission which is due from you to Christ, inasmuch as the things of Cæsar are due to Cæsar, and the things of God to God.

“We in the mean time, until we shall have reason to think otherwise of you, will preserve towards you the regard due to your station in the Church, your monastic character, and your reputation for learning and integrity.”

THE POPE, TO GILBERT, BISHOP OF LONDON¹.

“Statements are frequently made to us respecting you which consist ill with your monastic character and exterior deportment, and which, if substantiated, must shake our confidence in the sincerity of your professions.

“It is not gratitude, nor love, nor fear, that will justify you in the neglect of your sacred functions, and in abandoning the cause of the Church. Rather ought you to stand forth with manly constancy as its firmest pillar, fearing God, and not man. Remember, that when wicked men oppress the Church, the truest love would lead you, not merely to protest against them, but to raise your voice unceasingly, as it were a trumpet, always remembering

¹ Ep. i. 74.

But before entering on a review of his conduct in this new situation, it will be necessary to premise a few remarks on the relations at that time subsisting between Church and State, and the manner in which these appear to have arisen out of an earlier and purer state of things.

On reverting to the primitive ages of Christianity it would appear, that the respective limits of Ecclesiastical and Civil authority were then determined on principles which afforded little scope for difference of opinion among Churchmen: indeed, that as long as the letter of the New Testament was considered of paramount authority on this subject, it was impossible for sincere persons ever to be at a loss, respecting the path of duty it marked out for them. Two rules had been laid down by our Lord and his Apostles for the guidance of the early Christians, so broad, and at the same time so easy of application, as to leave no room to doubt how far allegiance was due from them to their spiritual and temporal governors respectively; even when, as might sometimes be the case, the commands laid on them by each were directly at variance.

1. An universal rule had been laid down by our Lord, unlimited in its application either as to time, persons, or circumstances, in virtue of which the Church was erected into an independent court of judicature, supreme as far as Christians were concerned, in all causes and over all persons, civil as well as ecclesiastical. If Christian sinned against Christian, in all cases whatsoever, without any ex-

ception, the following course of conduct was prescribed to the injured party: First he was to remonstrate in private; if this failed, he was to call in the assistance of "two or three witnesses;" and should their interposition likewise prove ineffectual, he was to bring his cause before the Church,—and here the process terminated. Be the cause what it might, the offender who he might, if he refused to hear the Church, he was to be cast out of its pale, to be regarded as a heathen man and a publican. To this direction there are, as has been said, no exceptions. Let the supposed offence affect person, property, civil privileges, any matter whatsoever, how little soever connected with what are commonly called religious concerns, still the process was the same. "If thy brother offend against thee," prince be he or peasant, be the offence little or great, civil or ecclesiastical, still the same command has gone forth, "tell it to the Church,—and if he neglect to hear the Church let him be as a heathen."

2. Another rule had been laid down equally universal, in which provision was made against any such misapplication of the foregoing as might interfere with the jurisdiction of the Civil Magistrate. All Churchmen were commanded under all possible circumstances to submit to the powers that be. Christ's servants were not "to fight,"—no not to prevent the most wicked act of oppression that God had ever allowed man to perpetrate: and for this reason, because His Kingdom is not of this world. Every soul was to be subject to the higher powers:

every ordinance of man to be endured for the Lord's sake—whether the King, or Rulers, or Masters,—and not the good and gentle only, but likewise the unthankful and the evil. “For this is thankful, if a man for conscience toward God endure grief suffering wrongfully.”

From these two rules it appears, that the respective jurisdictions assigned in Scripture to the Church and State were such as to exclude all room for cavil. A question could never arise whether any given cause came more properly under the cognizance of the one or the other; as they were distinct from one another, not in respect of the causes of which each might take cognizance, but in respect of the sanctions by which their decisions might be upheld. The jurisdiction of the State extended to all causes and over all persons ecclesiastical as well as civil; the jurisdiction of the Church to all causes and over all persons civil as well as ecclesiastical. But the sanctions, by which these jurisdictions were respectively upheld, differed in kind and never could interfere. No Churchman could ever by any possibility be placed in circumstances such as to prevent his conforming to both the foregoing rules at one and the same time. It must always have been in his power at once to serve the Church and submit to the State, to obey and be persecuted.

Such appear to have been the plain and simple principles laid down by our Lord and his Apostles for the guidance of the Early Christians; and as long as they were adhered to, all those difficulties

were avoided, which in later times proved so fertile a source of discord. But in the progress of Christianity a time arrived when the spiritual absolutism thus conferred on the Rulers of the Church was found to operate as a principal impediment to the general reception of the Gospel. The obstacles which Pagan prejudice had in the first instance opposed to the doctrine of the Cross, gave way gradually, as the idea became familiar; a readiness to acquiesce in the Gospel narrative as an historical fact, and in the system built upon it as abstractedly true, began to manifest itself among the great and the many. Statesmen and philosophers could listen to the exalted precepts, and respect the unobtrusive excellencies of the Christian brotherhood: nor was there any thing to prevent their open adhesion to it, except indeed the one, the hard condition exacted of all who entered its as yet narrow pale, that needle's eye through which the rich must enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, the recognition of Church authority. Was it then indeed necessary to require of the prefect and the senator that same absolute submission to the humble successors of the Apostles, which had in simpler times been enjoined on less elevated converts? Was it wise, was it right to obstruct the diffusion of the evangelical privileges, by insisting on the co-extension of a system perhaps not essential to their participation? Was the support of the great and influential to be lost to the Church, till they were willing to grant it on terms perhaps unnecessarily grating to their feel-

ings? Considerations such as these might naturally occur under such circumstances to the Rulers of the Church.—At any rate, certain it is that they acted in this spirit: that after persecution ceased, and temptations of a subtler kind succeeded, they aspired more ardently after the extension of the Church's pale, than the maintenance of its principles: that in their eagerness to realize the promise, "Kings shall be thy nursing Fathers, and Queens thy nursing Mothers," they were willing to forego the condition annexed to it, "and they shall bow themselves to the earth before thee, and lick up the dust of thy feet." A compromise was entered into not unlike, as some at least may have thought, to that between the heirs of the land of promise, and the disinherited Canaanites: and a state of things sprung up in which Christian sued Christian before civil courts, civil authorities were allowed to interfere with the internal polity of the Church, to appoint its officers, to alter its laws, to suspend its sanctions. In the twelfth century only an obscure vestige of the ancient Apostolic polity remained; yet some vestige of it did remain.

1. The permission which had been granted to the Christian Magistrate to draw the civil sword against his fellow Christians, was still subjected to an exception, in favour of the clerical order, including, not merely those whom we at this day call the Clergy, but a multitude of persons of inferior rank, such as the parish-clerks and sextons among ourselves, all of whom were then comprehended

under the general name Clerics. Of which large class no individual (according to the custom of the twelfth century) was amenable to any tribunal except that of the Bishop of his Diocese¹. 2. The relaxation on the part of the Church of its claim to decide the disputes of Christian with Christian did not as yet include the following cases. (1.) When

¹ It has been generally assumed that when the Church claimed exemption from secular jurisdiction in all cases which concerned its own privileges, it was guilty of one of those preposterous usurpations, which in after times were so frequent in the Church of Rome. This point however is set at rest by Mr. Turner, who shews that the claims of the Church were, in this instance, founded not merely on prescriptive usage, but on a formal grant of William the Conqueror. (Wilkin's Concil. i. 363.)

The cases too in which the Archbishop insisted on this exemption have usually been so stated as to create an unfair impression to his disadvantage. Protestant historians seem to have written under a feeling, that he could have been influenced by no motive but a wish to secure impunity to offending clergymen; and while they have dwelt on the crimes which the civil Magistrate was not allowed to punish, they seem never to have enquired how the criminal fared in the hands of the Church. We have been told over and over again of the Clergyman, who seduced a yeoman's daughter, and murdered the father. But it is not so generally understood that "the Chief Priest (Archipræsul) being consulted, ordered, that, being deprived of all ecclesiastical benefices, he should be discharged, and that he should be confined in a monastery, to perform the perpetual penance of a solitary life." And yet the authority of Herbert de Boscham, who informs us of the sentence, is as good as that of Fitz-Stephen who details the crime; and as neither writer interferes with the statement of the other, we may believe both conjointly.

the plaintiff was a widow or orphan. (2.) When the cause related to usury, breach of faith, the right of advowson or presentation to Church benefices, or lastly, the payment of tithes. In these cases the Church still asserted its original right; and on complaint being laid before the Bishop, if the party complained of failed to attend his summons, or in a later stage refused to abide by his decision, he was at once excommunicated, i. e. regarded as a heathen man or a publican.

In these few points the Church of the twelfth century exhibited traces, though faint ones, of the ancient Apostolical system. The time however was now arrived when even these came to be regarded as grievances by the class of persons for whose accommodation every other trace of it had been swept away. The mighty of this earth who had been allowed to intermeddle so far in the affairs of "the kingdom of Heaven," had learned at last to feel more indignant at the remaining restrictions imposed on them, than grateful for the concessions which they had already extorted. And certainly it must be admitted, that the claim with which they now came forward had more of seeming plausibility about it, than any which they could have urged in the first instance. The Church had by acquiescing in former demands relinquished the strong position which it might once have occupied; and that which it had now taken up was such as, without conciliating its enemies, afforded them a vantage ground to attack it from.

These vestiges of the ancient Apostolical system which remained in the twelfth century were (as might have been expected) far less defensible, less consistent, more liable to cavil and censure, than was the system itself which they had survived. And thus the only result of previous concessions had been to furnish an argument for demanding more. To take an instance—Some low and ill-conditioned Cleric had committed a very heinous offence;—he was convicted of it before the Bishop;—but the highest punishment which the Bishop could inflict was exclusion from the pale of the Church. This punishment was objected to by every one as at once inadequate to the offence, and unjust towards the rest of the community, of which the unprivileged members would for the same offence have suffered at the hands of the civil magistrate. Now it is well worthy of notice, that neither the one nor the other of these objections, as well the inadequacy of the punishment as its injustice, could have been objected against the original Apostolic system, but were derived from the subsequent deviations from it; that they would have had no force nor even plausibility, if that system had been preserved in its original integrity and vigour. For first, if that system had been preserved entire, the punishment of excommunication would have been the most severe with which any offence could have been visited in any case, not merely on a single class, but on any member of the Christian brotherhood. Thus equal justice would have been dealt

to all. And secondly, if that system had been upheld rigorously, few members of the Christian brotherhood would have been capable of crimes to which this punishment was ever in appearance inadequate. In the primitive communion robbery or murder must be supposed to have been of very rare occurrence, and little evil could have resulted from the mild provision, which, in the few instances where they might occur, would allow the offender on the ground of previous good character one single chance to recover himself, instead of consigning him at once to the sword of the civil magistrate. It was only in consequence of the relaxation of Church discipline, that great crimes could ever have become common within its pale. But till they became common, there would be no necessity for providing a Christian society with better security against their commission, than was afforded it by the terrors of spiritual punishment. Nor was it till, in consequence of the necessity thus occasioned, Christians had been allowed in some cases to visit the offences of their fellow-Christians with death, that any cry could have been raised against the injustice of exempting one class from a controul to which others were liable. Thus in the case instanced, absurd and unjust as might seem a particular remnant of the Apostolical system, it is evident that this arose simply from the circumstance of its being a remnant, and that on the restoration of the other parts of the system, it would become both rational and just.

Now in such a state of things it might seem that

a two-fold course was open to the reformers of abuses, either to abandon the ancient system entirely, or to restore it entirely ;—either to complete the system of compromise which had been begun, and consistently to admit the supremacy of the civil power, or to revoke the concessions which had been already made, and re-establish the spiritual empire of the Apostles. And it was between these two courses that the opinions of men were vibrating, when Thomas à Becket ascended the archiepiscopal throne of Canterbury.

Within two years of the time of his consecration, the King, assisted by a powerful party among the Clergy, came forward with a large and well digested measure of Church Reform ; which, if adopted, would have placed the relations of Church and State on a footing not very different from that which was arranged four hundred years after under Henry VIII., and which with more or less partial modification has continued to the present day.

1. The principle on which a Christian magistrate had already been permitted to visit death on the sins of one class of his fellow-Christians, was now to be applied generally to all classes, i. e. to Clerics as well as Laics.
2. The remaining vestiges of the ancient Apostolical courts of equity were to be altogether abolished.
3. The sacred obligation imposed on the Church's governors, of excluding from its pale all notoriously immoral and irreligious persons, was virtually to be renounced by an acknowledgment that the King had authority to prohibit

sentences of excommunication. 4. The election of the highest ecclesiastical officers which had in the first age been entrusted without respect of persons to the whole congregation of Christ's little ones, and afterwards, when feudal tyranny denied to these the free exercise of their franchise, had devolved first on the Clergy generally as their natural protectors, and then on the collegiate Clergy as less exposed to aristocratic influence than their insulated brethren, was now, with a view of preventing further collision, to be made over virtually at least, though not formally, to the king and his nobles. Such is the substance of the demands made by Henry II., and supported warmly by that class of Church reformers, which would remedy the evils arising out of past compromise by compromising further; who would altogether abandon a system resting on the highest authority, because inconsistencies had arisen from having partially abandoned it; who, because the practice of the Church had fallen short of its principles, would lower its principles to its practice.

To these demands however the Archbishop was resolved not to accede. He saw that specious as they appeared, and politic as humanly speaking they certainly were, they involved a total overthrow of the ancient Apostolical polity: that if the system of compromise was to have any limit, now was the time to make a stand: that the question at issue was no longer one of degree, when some might be disposed to go greater lengths, others less:

*ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἱερῆιον οὐδὲ βοειήν
 ἀρνυσθην, ἀ τε ποσσὶν ἀεθλία γίγνεται ἀνδρῶν,
 ἀλλὰ περὶ ψυχῆς θεον Ἐκτορος ἱπποδάμοιο.*

Thus he found himself, as it were, driven into a corner, from which there was no possibility of escape. He must either resign altogether the original independence granted to the Church by its Divine Founder, or throwing aside every other consideration, fight for it, body and soul. The latter alternative he chose; and the spirit with which he threw himself upon it is well described by a contemporary ecclesiastic, who after exhorting him to fight a good fight, concludes thus. "But whom," says he, "do I admonish? whom am I exhorting? whose zeal am I urging forward with the spur? his, doubtless, who rather needs the rein; who would walk farther than the way extends; whose race ceases not when the goal is reached; whom no dangers terrify or retard. Afar off does he snuff the battle: exile he deems his home: for all earth is the brave man's country. He toils without fatigue; fasts without hunger; suffers without pain; gall and wormwood have no bitterness for him. One is he among ten thousand. When the giants groan beneath the waterflood, he laughs and mocks at fortune, with the capricious revolutions of her wheel." It is not indeed to be pretended, that the ardour with which he devoted himself to this noble enterprise, was altogether such as to consist with the very highest frame of mind:

there was an eagerness about it ; a fiery zeal ; a spirit of chivalry, which excluded that calm unruffled quiescence which is the prerogative of faith,—that entire indifference to consequences, which reason points out as the proper frame of mind for those who fight under the banner of the Invincible, who know that whether their efforts succeed or fail, His will is alike done. And yet, in his very imperfections, there is a kind of splendour, to which its own praise is due : if short of the very highest character, they are at least an approach to it, which few are capable of making. An excess of zeal in the cause of God, is indefinitely less culpable than lukewarmness. Nor again, would it be at all true to suppose, that throughout his career as champion of the Church, his conduct was marked with the same over-anxiety and fierceness which seem to characterize it at the commencement. As his troubles were protracted, and his prospects of success grew fainter, a calmer and holier state of mind seems to have succeeded the emotion which stimulated his first efforts. His expulsion from England took place in the autumn of 1164. In the spring of 1166, John of Salisbury, writing to common friends of his own and the Archbishop's, expresses his confidence that adversity had not been thrown away on him. "Without doubt," says he, "this exile has been of the greatest service to my Lord of Canterbury, both in regard to his literary attainments, and the tone of his mind. I hope too that it has not been altogether lost upon

myself." In the summer of the same year, the same person writes to another friend :—" Concerning the cause of my Lord of Canterbury, I do not despair, for he himself has hope in the Lord, penancing himself for the deeds he did as a courtier, nor as I think does he make flesh his arm." And again in the autumn following, " With regard to my Lord of Canterbury, rest assured, that what he has gained in moral and intellectual graces far outweighs all that the King's malignity has been able to deprive him of." After this time a restless spirit is indeed discernible in his letters, as the fresh outrages of his enemies, or the base tergiversations of those who ought to have been his friends, time after time put his patience to the test. Yet on the whole, attentive observation will detect in them a growing tone of resignation and indifference, though unattended with the slightest approach to irresolution. After various and fruitless remonstrances with the Pope, who always held out to him strong assurances of support, and as often as he stood in need of it deserted him, at last in the sixth year of his exile, he wrote to one of the Cardinals in whom he placed more confidence than the rest, declaring his final intention to relieve his holiness from all further importunity. " And now, my Lord, I commit to God his own cause,—that God for whom I am proscribed and exiled ; let Him act by me as He sees best. It is my intention to give the Court no farther trouble in this matter." From this time he seems to have made up his mind to return to

England and resign himself to his fate, be the security the King would grant what it might. And after the lapse of a few months he did return, under the most unpromising circumstances. It is unnecessary here to forestall the tragic and beautiful conclusion of his history. Enough it is to state, that in the calmness, the fortitude, the lofty repose with which he waited his last suffering, even scepticism itself, unless united with extreme cold-heartedness, must recognize the peace of God which passeth all understanding.

CHAPTER II.

STATE OF PARTIES IN THE CONTEST.

AFTER examining the grounds of the contest between Thomas à Becket and Henry, the next point to be attended to is the actual state of parties at the time. And here we cannot perhaps take a better guide, than a letter of Arnulph, Bishop of Lisieux, addressed to the Archbishop at the end of the year 1165; in which the writer gives his views upon that very subject. Arnulph was one of the most celebrated and accomplished men of his times;¹ and when he wrote the letter in question, had access to the best information of what passed in England: for though he kept up a correspondence with the Arch-

¹ He is frequently mentioned in the Ep. D. T. He was elected to the Bishopric of Lisieux, A.D. 1140, on the death of his uncle John the presiding Bishop. The election was opposed by the Earl of Anjou, but Innocent II. confirmed it at the instance of Peter the Abbot of Clugny, commonly called the 'Venerable.' Before this he was Archdeacon of Seely, to which office he had been appointed by his brother John, Bishop of that See. He took a conspicuous part in procuring the recognition of Alexander III. as Pope by the Kings of France and England. In 1180 he retired to the convent of St. Victors, where he had received his education, and became a Canon Regular. He died A.D. 1181.

bishop's party, still, this was done with such guarded secrecy, that it excited no suspicion in the mind of the King. After speaking of the King's resentment, and his power to make it felt, he proceeds :—" Your Lordship's suffragans who ought to have behaved to you as such, and supported you by their advice and influence as far as they were able, have in a body seceded from you. You have therefore nothing to expect from them. As they were the first to begin the schism, they will not of course be very forward to propose a reconciliation. But the other Clergy of inferior station, embrace your Lordship's person with the arms of charity, in all sincerity of mind ; imploring with deep but silent sighs, that the Spouse of the Church may crown your wishes with a happy issue, to the glory of His Name. Their sympathy is indeed most gratifying. For the desires of the humble, though they have no weight with their superiors here, yet gain over to their side the anger of the Almighty, who is always the more ready to give assistance, the lower be the suppliant. He has respect unto the prayers of the humble. He looks to the cause, more than to the person, deciding the one according to His justice, however long delayed, and rewarding the other according to his deserts. With God therefore their devotion will be a great advantage to your Lordship ; but from the King they have neither the hope of gaining what they want, nor the boldness to ask it.

" Next, to pass on to the Nobles, and the feelings entertained by them.— It is certain they have formed

a league as it were against the Church, ever to impede its advantages, and incessantly oppose its dignities : thinking that whatever is added to its honour or reverence is all lost to them. And the present being a favourable opportunity, they are exerting themselves in consequence so much the more. The King gives them his support : indeed they assure his Majesty, that their only intention, in what they are doing, is to promote the general welfare of his kingdom. They tell him that his predecessors were inferior to him in strength, and extent of dominion, and that he ought not to reign more unworthily, or act more feebly than they : that he ought to stand up for his dignity, even more than if it were a matter of gain ; especially as gain savours of greediness, whereas dignity adds to the reverence, and heightens the honour of majesty. In this way they gloss over the encroachments of former monarchs ; putting them under the head of ‘dignity ;’ which is most dishonest, unfair, and unreasonable in them. However he embraces too greedily the blandishing speeches of these flatterers, which, he will find by their results at last, are nothing but a trick of malignity. This we must see, if we examine their scheme attentively. What they aim at is, his favour for themselves, and future difficulty and disadvantage to him. They pant to gain this object ; they apply themselves to it with all their arts ; only taking care to keep their intentions concealed. If they succeed, it will be diminishing the King’s

power, and also gaining an impunity for past offences, as well as fresh license for themselves."

Such was the opinion of Arnulph, who was more frequently a deceiver than deceived. He observed that the government party was made up of two elements,—the higher order of the Clergy who joined the King out of cowardice, having more at stake than they could make up their minds to lose; and the higher order of the Laity, who in this instance sided with the King against the Church, that when they had removed this obstacle, they might afterwards fight him single-handed: while on the other hand, the lower orders were all in their hearts attached to the cause of the Church, and, though they were not strong enough to make head at any given point, still collectively afforded it a broad base of passive support. This rough sketch of the times may be filled up from other contemporary history. And first as to the support derived by the Church from the affection of the lower orders.

With our notions, it will doubtless be surprising to find the party who in the twelfth century advocated what are now called high-church principles, maintaining this ground on the affections of a common people against a united aristocracy. The alliance which has happily so long subsisted between Church and State, is now regarded as indispensable, at least to the well-being of the former; and the political relations, which have grown up under this state of things, are now so intricate, as almost to

disable us from even conceiving the two societies as independent of one another. A modern high Churchman has been taught from his youth to identify the Church and the Establishment—to suppose that the respectability of the Clergy is the result of their connexion and intercourse with the higher classes,—and that in the event of any change which should render the clerical profession distasteful to the wealthy and well-connected, the Church must necessarily sink into insignificance. Such, however, was certainly not the case in the times now spoken of. The high-church party of the twelfth century endeavoured as much as possible to make common cause with the poor and the defenceless. Becket always speaks of the poor as “*Pauperes Christi* :” and the condescension which his party practised towards them, both before and after his time, appears to us incredible. One of Becket’s practises which is now most insisted on as a proof of his ostentatious sanctity, viz. that he was accustomed daily to wash the feet of “thirteen paupers,” seems to have been nothing more than was then expected from persons in his station. The same thing may be said of his extensive charities, which attracted so little notice at the time, that we might infer, even from this circumstance alone, what we

- have abundant evidence of from other sources, viz. the commonness of such munificence among those by whom the claims of the Church were most strongly upheld.

A further instance of the patronage which the

Church afforded to the common people, is distinctly pointed at in the 16th article of the Council of Clarendon; which declares that “the sons of peasants ought not to be ordained without the consent of the lord, of whose land they are acknowledged to be born the serfs.” It is clear from hence that the privileges of the Church, which made Ordination equivalent to emancipation, were exerted for the benefit of the lower orders; who were thus enabled to emerge from hereditary vassalage, and sometimes even to attain an elevation equal to that of the highest lay nobility. How extensively this system was acted on, may be inferred from a speech of Henry II.; in which he complains bitterly of the monastic orders for “admitting as brothers such men as tanners, and shoemakers, of whom not one ought even on a pressing necessity to be promoted to a Bishoprick or an Abbacy.”¹ The claim which the Church put forward to exclusive jurisdiction in the causes of widows and orphans was part of the same system, and was also regarded, as we have seen, with especial jealousy. Indeed it is easy to see that any system which allied the lower orders to the Church,² would for that very reason

¹ Quoted by Gervase in Script. Hist. Ang. a Twysden, p. 1595.

“Hi quoque omnes tales sibi fratres associant, pelliparios scilicet et sutores, quorum nec unus deberet instante necessitate in Episcopum vel abbatem salvâ nostrâ conscientiâ promoveri.”

² The support which Thomas à Becket derived from the lower orders, has been accounted for by a French writer, (M. Thierry) in a novel and ingenious manner. He asserts that

tend to alienate the nobility from it. And more particularly would the latter feel indignant at a power which intruded itself between them and their vassals, and, in an age when hereditary distinction was especially valued, took upon itself to dispense with the privileges of birth, often authorising the peasant to exercise spiritual authority over his lord.

But in addition to this, another cause was in operation during a great part of the twelfth century, which often gave a personal character to the animosity with which the high laity regarded the Church. The first article of the Council of Clarendon decrees “concerning the advowson or presen-

Becket was a Saxon, the first who since the Conquest had attained a high station in the Church, and that for this reason his cause was naturally taken up by the rest of his race who were still a degraded caste in England. And certainly if Becket was a Saxon, this circumstance may have *contributed* to his popularity in the way supposed by M. Thierry. But has this fact been clearly made out. The following passage in Fitz-Stephen's life of Becket seems to cast a doubt over it, “Becket” says Fitz-Stephen, “obtained an early introduction to Theobald through his father, who was an old neighbour and near relative of the Archbishop;—‘ut ille, *natu Normannus*, et circa Tierici Villam de equestri ordine natu vicinus.’ Besides the name Becket, or, as it is sometimes spelt, Bequet, is, as M. Thierry himself observes, a Norman diminutive of a Norman root—Becque; and hence as a term of endearment, Becquet. In Saxon it would have been Beckie. His mother was certainly a Saracen. At all events, supposing him to have been a Saxon, this circumstance could have added but little to the popularity of a cause, in which from other reasons the common people were so much interested.

tation of Churches, that if a dispute should arise among the laity, or among the clergy and laity, or among the clergy, it should be deferred and settled in the court of our Lord the King." The history of the hundred years which succeeded the Pontificate of Hildebrand, is a continued comment upon this article. The length and violence of the struggle in which the Church and State contended for the right of investiture is well known, and as far as it affects the higher offices of the Church, need not be dwelt upon here. But it may not perhaps be equally understood, in what way this controversy affected the presentations to smaller benefices. It seems as if the claims of the Church extended in *principle*, to all Church preferment whatever ; but that in *practice* these claims were never put forward, except where there was a fair chance of carrying them through with success ; hence that the higher patronage, Bishoprics, rich Abbeys, &c. fell from time to time either into the hands of the King, or the legitimate Clerical electors, according as the condition of either party was flourishing or the reverse ; and that other benefices, Parish Churches for instance, were disposed of sometimes by the Bishop of the diocese, sometimes by the lord of the soil ; more by the rule of might, than any acknowledged arrangement : thus, that in some places the permanent greatness of a noble family may have secured a succession of undisputed presentations, which at length almost amounted to a prescriptive right, while in others the caprice of

fortune placed the same benefice sometimes at the disposal of the Bishop, sometimes of a lay patron ; and not unfrequently, so balanced the power of each party as to excite the hopes of both, thus giving occasion to severe disputes. The contest between Becket and Henry opens with an instance of the last sort, according to Fitz-Stephen's account. A Church falls vacant within the domains of one of the King's tenants in chief ; the Archbishop claims the right of presentation *by virtue of his office* ; a conflict ensues between the parties, begun with violence on the part of the Layman, and met with spiritual censure by the Archbishop ; and the whole is terminated by the interference of the King to the prejudice of the Church¹. This seems only to be a specimen of what was frequently happening. Indeed so general and so irritating were the disputes which arose out of this subject, that a party among the higher Clergy would gladly have relinquished those claims, had not the court of Rome persisted in

¹ “ Item Ecclesiam de Eynesfordiâ cuidam Clerico Laurentio Archiepiscopus donaverat. Ejus siquidem est tam Baronum suorum, quam Monachorum Cantuariensium, vacantes in villis donare ecclesias. Dominus Villæ Willelmus de Eynesfordiâ reclamans, homines Laurentii expulsiit ; Archiepiscopus eum excommunicavit. Rex statim Archiepiscopo scripsit, ut eum absolveret. Respondit Archiepiscopus non esse regis præcipere quenquam absolvi, sicut nec excommunicari. Rex contendit de regali sua esse dignitate, quod non excommunicatur qui de eo in capite teneat, ipso inconsulto. Tandem ad regem mitigandum, qui jam in eum excandescebat, et non nisi per nuntios ei loquebatur, Archiepiscopus Willelmum absolvit.” Fitz-Stephen.

enforcing them. Roger, Archbishop of York, among others, made overtures to this effect about the time of the council of Clarendon, and sent a proposal to the Pope, asking permission to compromise the point in question, by buying off lay claimants to Church patronage. The request however was not granted.

Now that these claims of the Church were not confined to particular benefices, but extended generally to all, is made clear by a letter of Becket's, written at the conclusion of 1169 to Henry, Bishop of Winchester. The Archbishop was just then beginning to feel his strength, and having prevailed on the Pope to lay aside his timid policy, was empowered to use his own discretion in bringing his enemies to terms. In consequence he wrote to the Bishop of Winchester, who had now begun openly to espouse his cause, and after giving him directions how to proceed against the King, adds, "Under the same interdiction we order that you cause it to be publicly announced, that those are excommunicated, who, contrary to the institution of the sacred canons, have received Churches, or ecclesiastical offices and benefices from the hands of the laity." Many other orders might be cited to the same effect, but this perhaps is sufficient¹.

¹ The state of things which has been here described seems to suggest an explanation of the obscurity which lies over the origin of private patronage in this country. (1.) It prepares us to believe that the origin of such patronage, as it now exists among us, is not to be looked for earlier than the thirteenth

Here then was an important subject of contention between the Church and its opponents among the laity, at the period we are referring to. It was a question involving personal interests ; and causing, as it did, frequent and irritating struggles between individuals on both sides, gave a personal character to the animosity with which the nobles regarded Becket ; and induced them to join a King whom they feared and hated, to effect the overthrow of a party, which, though they feared less, they hated more.

Among the Clergy, the government party was composed principally either of cautious or worldly men, who seem to have anticipated greater evils from a collision with Henry and the nobility, than from entire submission to their demands. These persons were of opinion, that after all controverted

century ; for before that time almost every presentation was a subject of contest. (2.) That whatever may be the time from which any given benefice has resided in lay hands, we are not to look for a formal account how it passed into them at first ; for this has probably resulted in the first instance, from successful encroachments on the rights of the Bishop who claimed to present *jure divino*, and afterwards from a cessation of the claim when it could no longer be enforced ; or from an understanding between the Bishop, and Lay patron, which time at length ratified. (3.) That whatever may have been the manner in which the transfer was effected, it is not likely to have been accompanied with any regular grant of titles from the Lay patron to the Church ; for that anterior to the transfer in question, the church, by claiming the right of presentation, must have claimed the titles to which it presented ; and could afterwards accept of no grant without owning its past exaction to have been unjust.

points had been conceded, still so much of what was valuable would remain, that no wise man would hazard this, on the chance of preserving more. They could not, as they said, take upon themselves the responsibility of unsettling the whole state of things with the hope of carrying a few points, which, after all, were only of secondary importance; and for this reason they took an early opportunity of disengaging themselves from the Archbishop, who was supposed to carry his principles, in themselves good, to extravagant heights. This party consisted principally of the richer clergy, and especially those in responsible situations, the Abbots and Bishops.

In addition however, to this class of persons, there were others who adopted apparently the same line of conduct, for different reasons. These were what we may call the religionist party of the day, or the principal part of it; consisting chiefly of members of the Cistercian order: at the head of which was Gilbert Foliot, the most prominent person among the English Clergy, next to Thomas à Becket; and the rival of the latter for the Archbishopric, as well as his successor in the King's favour. He certainly was in many respects a remarkable man, and his vices and history are not without their instruction, as bearing upon the more recent fortunes of the Church.

Educated in the famous Cloister of Clugny, he had obtained in an early period of life a very high reputation for learning and austerity; and in consequence, was advanced to the high station of Abbot,

in the rich Benedictine establishment of St. Peter's, Gloucester. In this capacity he corresponded with Pope Eugenius, and all the other celebrated Churchmen of his day, on a footing of confidence and familiarity which betoken a consciousness of the place he occupied in public estimation. In the year 1147 he was farther promoted to the Bishopric of Hereford, and here he acquired a still more extended reputation for abstinence and voluntary poverty; so that to use the words of his friend the Abbot of Reading, "*Ecclesiam Dei suavissimo replevit odore,*"—the incense of his sanctity perfumed the Church of God. His influence was acknowledged not only by his own order, but likewise by the highest lay nobility. It was apparently at his suggestion, that the Earl and Countess of Leicester devoted themselves to a monastic life¹. Reginald de St. Waleric had been oppressing the Monks of Osney; and the Bishop of Hereford, though not officially concerned, was the person to remonstrate with him². The light in which he was regarded by Henry II., is sufficiently manifested in the letter which solicits his acceptance of the See of London.

"By hastening to reply with his Holiness's mandate for your translation, your Lordship will confer a great obligation on myself; and will, if possible, even enhance the affectionate regard which is already felt for you by my Barons. For it is in the city of London that on all important occasions my great national councils are assembled; and for this reason

¹ Cave MS.

² *ibid.*

his holiness the Pope, in his solicitude to provide a fit pastor for such a See, and out of his provident consideration for the welfare of my heirs and my Realm, and wishing to give a more diffusive influence to the lustre of your virtues, has committed it to your charge."

Such was the language in which Henry solicited his acceptance of one of the highest preferments in the country: and Thomas à Becket, then Archbishop, accompanied the King's letter with one even more flattering in his own name. After his promotion to the Bishopric of London, which took place April 28, 1163, we find him honoured with still higher marks of confidence on the part of the King and his Nobles, and at the same time imposing on himself fresh rigours; as if resolved that his worldly advancement should not outstrip his progress in religion. At a time when he had entirely superseded his rival in Court favour and influence, and was supposed to have exclusive possession of the King's ear, it was likewise noised abroad that his health was sinking under the austerities of his private life. "We are informed," says the Pope Alexander in a letter dated Sept. 4, 1163, "and have good grounds for knowing, that you afflict and mortify your flesh to a degree which is neither fitting nor expedient. We therefore warn your brotherly goodness, and earnestly exhort you on no account to persevere in such unnecessary rigours, nor to deprive your Maker of the services He requires of you." Nor does it appear that any subsequent period of his

temporal greatness superinduced any relaxation of character, or that the multiplied engagements which brought him necessarily in contact with the noble and luxurious, in any degree assimilated his way of living to theirs, or interposed with his consistent course of austere simplicity. He lived in the world without conforming to it; protesting against its ways by his own manner of living, and yet its favourite.

These features in his history are certainly worthy of notice; and the more so, as his protest against the faults of those he lived with, was not conveyed to them only through his example, but sometimes expressed itself in very free remonstrance. Even the King's own conduct became on one occasion the subject of his expostulations, when that irritable monarch had countenanced what he thought improper severities against the Archbishop's party.—“Your Highness's cause,” he writes in a letter to Henry, “does not appear to be forwarded by harsh treatment of those, whom God has appointed His household servants, whom He has taken as it were into His family, and made attendant on His own Table. In this matter though none else speak, yet will not I keep silence; though all despair, yet not I. Absent therefore in body, yet present in spirit, I exhort you, as you value your salvation, to adopt more wholesome courses.” Another of his letters, addressed to Hugo the famous Earl of Norfolk, who it seems had been encroaching on the property of a religious house in his neighbourhood, concludes with

the following highly wrought appeal: "For these reasons we beseech your Lordship, that you will confer on this matter with God-fearing persons; desisting from counsels which savour of this world's wisdom, and keeping before your eyes that King, through whom you live and breathe and enjoy abundance; who up to this time has generously protected you; who when He pleases, will recall the spirit He has given you, and take account of all your doings. To-day you are, to-morrow you may be no more; and the torment of the pit, as well as the glories of heaven, are for ever. In that awful day, with our sins on one side accusing, and on the other, justice terrifying us; a blazing world around, a burning conscience within, beneath the horrible depth, and above your angry Judge, all too little, doubtless, will the very best of us consider the very best services, which he has in this life stored up against the next." Such was Gilbert Foliot, as to the example he set, and the precepts he delivered; but in order to obtain a just notion of his character as a whole, it will be necessary to survey it from a different point of view.

Certainly it is very difficult to conceive that one, whose fortitude and patience was adequate to bear him in a consistent course of self-inflicted austerities, should have been deficient in the firmness necessary for meeting persecution from without; still more difficult to imagine a motive, which could have led to the sacrifice of almost all that renders worldly greatness agreeable, and yet leave room for over-

attachment to the miserable remainder. Yet something there was among Gilbert's treasures upon earth, which did withhold some portion of his heart from his treasures in heaven; something which after all his self-denials, he could not summon sufficient resoluteness to forego. It may have been indeed that the object which he clung to, was, after all, not a selfish one; that a sense of the many opportunities of usefulness, which his exalted situation opened to him, were the real cause of his unwillingness to relinquish it; that in the prospect of a protracted hostility between Church and State, he saw nothing but a dreary interruption to all his pastoral duties; and that as long as the demands of the civil power affected only what he might consider the lesser of these, it was the part of wisdom to concede, without provoking an opposition which might endanger the greater as well; that he was securing more good upon the whole by submission, than he could reasonably hope to effect by resistance. Such may certainly have been the sincere convictions of his mind; and he may on this ground have thought it his duty to decline the persecution which the Archbishop brought on himself by an opposite course. Yet when one looks very closely into his conduct, at the commencement of the great struggle between the Aristocracy and the Clergy, a suspicion will involuntarily suggest itself, not altogether favourable to his disinterestedness. Among other things, a curious record of the state of his feelings at this crisis has been preserved in the Cave MS. in a

letter addressed by him to his particular friend Cardinal William of Pavia. It seems that one of the Nobility had encouraged a dependant of his to take forcible possession of a certain farm belonging to a small religious house in the diocese of London, and that on the matter being referred to the Pope, he had ordered the Bishop to obtain immediate restitution, or to excommunicate the offending party and his patron. Restitution was refused, and to excommunicate a man of rank without the King's licence (which in this instance could not be obtained) would entail very terrible consequences. Thus the Bishop found himself in a dilemma which offered him no alternative, except either to disobey the Pope, or to set the King at defiance. "And truly, (says he in a tone of almost whimsical pathos) rather would I have been without my Bishopric, than incur either of these calamities. Either of the swords which hang over me is heavy; one of which kills the soul, the other the body; the former indeed heavier, but the latter is by no means light. And what profit will there be in my blood to my dearest Lord the Pope, if I should go down to the pit stigmatized as a traitor to my King; or if (which God forbid) I retain my life at the price of disobedience. If I obey not my Lord's commands (the Pope's) woe is me; yet if I do obey, nothing remains for me but to fly a kingdom whose laws I have violated. If indeed the cause were one in which death or exile could be worthily undergone, gladly would I face either in compliance with my Lord's

wishes. But surely six miserable Monks dwelling together in Panteney, without any rule or order, are not of such importance, that to obtain for them a few acres of land, the Chief Priest of Christendom should interrupt his friendly relations with the King of England." The quarter from which these sentiments proceed will be noted with a smile by the observant reader; but it will be with a feeling of grave melancholy, that he reflects on the great diversity of circumstances which seem to afford equal facilities for their developement; that he discovers them to be a weed of universal growth, the produce of all soils and every climate, from the bridal chamber to the ascetic's cell. Gilbert Foliot it seems, though wrapped in a hair shirt, and reposing on a bed of straw, felt the charms of home as strongly, and was as little disposed to sacrifice peace for principle, as though he had been spell-bound amidst the softer enchantments of domestic blessedness. Few as were the charms which earth possessed for him, yet these few could place him within the power of circumstances, and undermine the independence of his character. What he could have been deprived of was but "one morsel of bread," and yet to save that he "sold his birthright."

There are likewise other particulars in the character and situation of this Bishop and his party which we are more especially concerned to notice here.

(1.) The rigorous discipline to which he voluntarily subjected himself, and the ardent aspiration

after exalted degrees of holiness which seem to be indicated by it, would naturally result from an exalted conception of the dignity of his office, and a sensitive dread of discrediting it in his own person. Yet certain it is that he himself, and the most conspicuous of those, who like himself were distinguished for extraordinary heights of self-mortification, far from entertaining such conceptions, were likewise equally distinguished for the low views they took of Church authority. The light tone, in which the letter above quoted, from Gilbert to William of Pavia, speaks of state interference with the spiritual jurisdiction of the Bishops, in what was considered the most important of its branches, the exercise of the powers of the Keys, (as though this were a trifle not worth contending for at the hazard of peace) of itself proves how little the views of the writer and his correspondent, (who be it observed likewise affected extraordinary sanctity) accorded on this important subject with those of his contemporaries. A similar spirit appears, in the amusing horror which we have seen Gilbert express, at the notion of the censures of the Church being directed against Royalty. And what is still more curious, as tending to the same result, we find in a document proceeding jointly from himself and another Bishop of high repute for sanctity, the germ of an opinion, which it was reserved for later times to develope: viz. that so long as the doctrines of the Church remained untouched, it made little matter what became of the discipline.

And there is reason for believing that these sentiments were shared by the principal part of what has been called the religionist party. At least, it is certain that among the Clergy, those who co-operated most zealously with the Archbishop in defence of Church liberty, were not of this party, but on the contrary, were taunted as worldly-minded men, politicians, mere men of talent, whom the Archbishop had collected about him, without any reference to their religious qualifications; and that they, in their turn, retorted upon their opponents the epithets, Pharisee, the righteous over much, *nimis justi et indiscrete religiosi*¹. Nor is it less certain,

¹ John of Salisbury, in his curious work, "*De Nugis Curialium et vestigiis Philosophorum*," also speaks of a party which existed in his days, professing extraordinary strictness in their own conduct, yet allying themselves with men of the world, in opposition to the Church authorities. "Thence it is that they exhibit paleness in their countenances, that they heave deep sighs from habit, that they are suddenly suffused with artful and ready tears; with their head stiff, their eyes half shut, their hair short, their head close shaven, their voice low, their lips quick from prayer. *These are the men who, if any stain have been fixed on the Church, whilst they are travelling abroad, discover it to the public eye, that they themselves may appear free from all stain. These are the men who persuade those in power, that, on account of the faults of individuals, the Church should be deprived of her right.* They take tithes and first fruits away from the Churches, and they receive the Churches themselves from the hands of the laity, without consulting the Bishops: they implore the assistance of secular powers, and promise them divine favour: they amplify the mercy of the Lord, who wishes that none should perish, which (mercy) they say, as it is open and extensive to the penitent, so

not on this occasion only, but afterwards, under the reigns of Richard and John, that among those who sided with the state in its aggressive system of interference with spirituals, there were ranked as a body, the most ascetic of religious societies then existing in England, the monks of the Cistercian order.

(2.) One might have been disposed to imagine, looking only to what appears probable beforehand, that persons who like this Bishop refused to conform to the world's ways, and professed to act upon a standard, higher than it recognized, would have been an object of hatred to all against whom their example witnessed. Yet, strange to say, not only was he himself, as has been already noticed, an especial favourite with a debauched and insolent aristocracy, but as a proof that this resulted not from accidental circumstances, but from the very thing which might have led us to expect the reverse, this favouritism extended generally to the ascetic professors throughout the country. To build and endow Cistercian establishments, was, in the 12th century, quite a fashion; so much so, that no less than forty-three of that order had been founded, (each rated in the King's books at a value of more than £100. per annum) between the year 1132,

is it shut against those only who despair. They are therefore consenting to wicked morals, and courting popular affection; by their smooth speeches they shut up the ears of men, lest they should hear the chiding of the Prelates." (De Nugis Curial. l. vii. c. 21.)

when the order itself was first introduced into England, and the death of Stephen,—a period by no means remarkable for its munificence. And so uninterrupted was the flow of patronage extended to them under successive princes, that, till the oppressive exactions practised to raise the ransom of Richard, they had enjoyed an absolute immunity from taxation.

Such were the elements of the Clerical party, which joined the King and Nobles in the attempt to overthrow Church authority. It may naturally be asked next how the latter side could maintain the contest against them. It is difficult to conceive any system of warfare, which could enable a set of defenceless Churchmen, backed by the good wishes of a half-enslaved peasantry, to make head against the Chivalry of England, and the ablest as well as most powerful of her Kings. Nor is it likely that we shall be able to clear up this point, except by a careful examination of the events themselves. But a few remarks may be serviceable by way of introduction.

In the first place then it must be observed, that in the time of Henry II., the Catholic Church was one compact machine, of which no individual part could move without giving an impulse to the rest. The Churches of Italy, France, Germany, and England, were cemented together by closer ties, than now unite any two dioceses in this country. Men of letters from all parts of civilized Europe talked a common language; intermingled with one an-

other in the course of their education ; expended large sums of money in keeping up their correspondence ; frequently met one another at the great centre of ecclesiastical intelligence, the Court of Rome ; were in many instances promoted from one country to another ; and now and then were concentrated at once by the calling of a general council. A large number of persons so united could not fail to act in some degree as a body ; especially as there was recognized throughout the whole mass, a strict system of subordination, which secured a union of action, even where there did not exist a union of opinion. Inferiors were subjected to superiors by well-defined laws, through which they seldom dared to break, however audacious might be their attempt at evasion. In the case of Thomas à Becket, for instance, his suffragans profess in all stages of their disobedience to be acting in accordance with law ; and the necessity which obliges them to this, very materially interferes with the efficiency of their opposition. If he gives an order which they are determined to resist, their first endeavour is to prevent its delivery ; and for this they have recourse to the most violent measures ; the ports are blockaded along the coasts of England and Normandy ; the persons of all who embark or debark are carefully examined ; and the most savage penalties are inflicted on any who are found with letters, either from the Pope or the Archbishop. If by chance the messenger escapes their vigilance, and duly delivers his orders in the presence of witnesses, an

appeal to the Court of Rome is their next resource ; and that not with any prospect of obtaining a favourable sentence, but because by so appealing they procure, (1.) a respite from the obligation to immediate obedience ; for by the ecclesiastical law any time short of a year from the delivery of sentence was allowed to the appellant for collecting his evidence : and (2.) a chance of intercepting the second messenger, who, after the term of appeal had elapsed, would have to convey the repetition of the order. If both attempts fail, an embassy is sent to Rome from Henry ; and this last expedient succeeds on more than one occasion. But whatever are the partial successes of Becket's opponents, the complicated process by which they are obtained, sufficiently attests the difficulty of obtaining them, and the magnitude of those impediments which the Church system opposed to independent action on the part of its inferior officers.

Again, the machinery of the system was so arranged, that the punishments with which the Church visited individual offenders, indirectly affected large masses of people : each sentence caused a general commotion. The obedient were made the instruments of punishing the disobedient, and thus two purposes were at once answered ; the faithful were themselves more closely united by acting together against the aliens. To go into particulars :—the process of excommunication, or, as it was then styled, of drawing the sword of St. Peter, was so contrived as to cause the greatest

possible sensation within the circle where the offender was known. The sentence itself was pronounced by torch-light ; at its conclusion the torches were extinguished, and the bells tolled ; a messenger was then forwarded to all the Clergy within the jurisdiction of the dignitary who pronounced it ; it was repeated in all the Churches, and posted on the Church doors. And all those to whose knowledge it came, were forbidden, on pain of a similar punishment, to hold any communion, i. e. friendly intercourse, with the excommunicated person. Thus it was any time in Becket's power to create a sensation through the whole province of Canterbury, and, if the Pope echoed his sentence, throughout civilized Europe.

But the sentence of excommunication was resorted to very sparingly. It was kept in reserve against great occasions, or as a last resource when milder methods had proved ineffectual. If a noble committed any offence against the Church, his first warning was conveyed in a studiously temperate remonstrance : if this failed, it was intimated to him in a courteous but very serious tone, that in case he persisted it would be necessary to proceed farther. The next step was a formal notice, that unless he repented before a certain day, his property would be put under an interdict,—a threat which according to circumstances might be executed with various shades of severity. But such a sentence, even in its mildest form, could not fail to create a very strong impression.

And if the sentences of the Church were calculated to do this of themselves, there was something still more striking in the manner of delivering them to the offender. On this point the instructions given by the Archbishop to Idonea, a nun, to whom on a very critical occasion he entrusted a sentence against the Archbishop of York, will speak more vividly than any description. He writes to her as follows :—

“God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the mighty.

“The pride of Holophernes which exalted itself against God, when the warriors and the priests failed, was extinguished by the valour of a woman : when Apostles fled and denied their Lord, women attended Him in His sufferings, followed Him after His death, and received the first fruits of the resurrection. You, my daughter, are animated with their zeal, God grant that you may pass into their society. The spirit of love hath cast out fear from your heart, and will bring it to pass that the things which the necessity of the Church demands of you, arduous though they be, shall appear not only possible but easy.

“Having this hope therefore of your zeal in the Lord, I command you, and for the remission of your sins enjoin on you, that you deliver the letters, which I send you from his Holiness the Pope, to our venerable brother, Roger, Archbishop of York, in the presence if possible, of our brethren and fellow Bishops ; and, if not, in the face of all

who happen to be present. Moreover, lest by any collusion the original instrument should be suppressed, deliver a transcript of it to be read by the by-standers, and open to them its intention, as the messenger will instruct you.

“My daughter, a great prize is offered for your toil, remission of sins, a fruit that perisheth not,—the crown of glory, which, in spite of all the sins of their past lives, the blessed sinners of Magdala and Egypt have received from Christ their Lord.

“The Lady of Mercies will attend on you, and will entreat her Son, whom she bore for the sins of the world, God and Man, to be the guide, guard, and companion of your steps. He who burst the bonds of death, and curbed the violence of devils, is not unable to restrain the impious hand that will be raised against you.

“Farewell, bride of Christ, and ever think on His presence with you¹.”

Nor was the danger slight which Idonea was thus summoned to incur;—if, at least, we may judge from what happened on another occasion of much less importance. In the summer of 1166, search was made in the neighbourhood of Touque in Normandy, for certain messengers of the Pope and the Archbishop, who had delivered to some of the Courtiers letters at which the King took offence. “Here,” says one of the Archbishop’s correspondents, “the Pope’s messenger was taken. He is still imprisoned, and in chains. Here, too, the Lord

¹ Ep. D. T. v. 72.

saved M. Herbert out of the hands of his pursuers. Surely he should not have exposed himself so on a matter of such little importance." And this is explained still further by another correspondent, who writes, "You know, I conclude, in what a strait the messenger was who delivered the letters to the King. His finger was thrust into his eyes, as if to tear them out, till the blood flowed : and hot water was forced down his throat, till he confessed that the letter came from M. Herbert. He is not yet released from prison, though the King has received an order to that effect from his mother."

The extent of the machinery here described, and the severity with which those were visited who dared to set it in motion, prepare us to believe that its effects could not have been regarded with indifference. And this we shall find to be the case most fully in the sequel. What has been mentioned, however, may be of advantage, as giving us some idea, to begin with, of the kind of warfare by which an unarmed Church was enabled to maintain its ground, and, assisted by the good wishes of the peasantry, to withstand the united efforts of a powerful King and an incensed nobility.

CHAPTER III¹.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE ARCHBISHOP'S TROUBLES.

THE intention of Henry II. to reform the Church on the principles sketched in the last Chapter, was first formally announced in the Diocese of Poitiers, June 28, 1163. In England it appears that his measures were not sufficiently matured till Oct. 1st of the same year. But in the mean time he was actively engaged in undermining the influence of

¹ The following list of the persons figuring in this Chapter, is given by the Author in the British Magazine, vol. iii. p. 399.

Dramatis Personæ.

ALEXANDER III. elected Pope, September 7, 1159. In 1161 he was driven from Italy by Frederick Barbarossa, who set up an Antipope, Octavian, Cardinal of St. Cecilia, under the title of Victor IV. ; and at the time when our scene opens, was residing at Sens as a refugee. His authority was acknowledged by England and France.

LOUIS VII., King of France.

HENRY II.

WILLIAM OF PAVIA, and HENRY OF PISA, Cardinals residing at Sens.

THOMAS À BECKET, Archbishop of Canterbury.

HENRY, ARCHBISHOP OF RHEIMS, brother to Louis VII.

the Archbishop, from whose opposition he anticipated serious impediments to his plan. Among other means for effecting this, he encouraged the Bishop of London in withdrawing his See from Archiepiscopal controul, the Archbishop of York in asserting the independence of his Province, and the Abbot of St. Augustine's (Canterbury) in claiming exemption from Episcopal jurisdiction altogether. Nor was it possible for the Archbishop to counteract these designs, unless he could obtain support from the see of Rome. In this position of affairs, he wrote to his particular friend, the Bishop of Poitiers, urging him to repair at once to the Pope's court at Sens, and act as his advocate there. The Bishop's answer was as follows :—

JOHN, BISHOP OF POITIERS, formerly Treasurer of York, an intimate friend of Becket.

GILBERT, BISHOP OF LONDON, late of Hereford. ARNULPH, BISHOP OF LISIEUX.

BISHOP OF EVREUX. PHILIP D'ALSACE, EARL OF FLANDERS. YNO, EARL OF SOISSONS. EARL HENRY. EARL [ROCCEIUS.] PETER, ABBOT OF ST. REMIGIUS, Rheims.

CLAREMBALD, ABBOT ELECT OF ST. AUGUSTINE's, Canterbury, but not instituted, in consequence of his refusal to accept the Archbishop's benediction, i. e. to own canonical subjection to him.

DEAN OF NOYON. PRIOR OF ST. MARD, Soissons.

SIMON DE TORNEBU, Lord Constable of Thouars.

RICHARD DE HAMET, Lord Constable of Normandy.

JOHN DE LUSCI, WILLIAM FITZ-HAMON, HUGH DE CLEERS, JOHN DE CUMIN, HENRY PANETARIUS, officers of Henry II.

THE BISHOP OF POITIERS¹, TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF
CANTERBURY, FROM LOCHES, SEPT. 1163.

“After receiving your Lordship’s letter, I scarcely allowed myself a day’s preparation for my journey; indeed every hour seemed odious to me that delayed a business which you press so earnestly. I confess, my Lord, that letter of your’s drew tears from me. The very earnest tone in which it was written implies, I cannot help thinking, some distrust of my friendship; but forgive me for saying so, I had rather that you should fail in confidence than myself in zeal. But while I regarded your instructions, in disregarding what my Poitains² were sure to say about my journey, at the same time I endeavoured to give their suspicions a wrong direction. Accordingly, I gave

¹ Ep. D. T. i. 1*. John, lately treasurer of York; he was promoted to Poitiers in the early part of 1163; Fitz-Stephen says it was to interrupt his communication with the Archbishop. He had given offence to the King in his former office, by supporting a dean, (rural) who was accused at York, by a burgess of Scarborough, for having presented his wife on charge of adultery; “*sine alio accusatore.*” (The 6th Art. of the Council of Clarendon, says, ‘*Laici non debent accusari, nisi per certos et legales accusatores.*’)

At Poitiers, he began with great spirit to uphold the rights of the Church, but it appears from the sequel that he did not persist.

² The talkativeness of the Poitains seems at this time to have been proverbial. John of Salisbury, in the Verses prefixed to his Policraticon, ‘*auctor ad opus suum,*’ says:—

‘*De Pictavorum dices te gente creatum,
Nam licet his linguâ liberiore loqui.*’

* The letters translated in this volume being all, with very few exceptions, taken from the Ep. D. T. (*Epistolæ Divi Thomæ*) it will not be necessary to give more than the number of the letter for the future.

out that I was going to Tours, to meet the Bishop of Evreux¹, Richard de Hamet, the Lord Constable, William Fitz-Hamon, and other officers of the King, who were to assemble there at this time; to arrange terms of peace with the Nobles of Auvergne. And indeed, I really had business with these persons, on important matters of my own.

“ I wished to seek a fuller explanation of certain harsh and unprecedented ordinances, which our friend Luscus, (whose mental vision God has altogether extinguished) and the notorious Simon de Tornebu, Constable of Thouars, have proclaimed here in the King's name. These men came to Poitiers a few days after the natal of the Apostles², and took me apart, as if they had some secret commission to me. Henry Panetarius was present at the interview, as a witness that they discharged their duty faithfully. But when I requested that on my part too, some Abbot, or at any rate one of my Clerics, or some Canon, might attend, this was refused, on the plea that their business concerned me alone. They opened their commission, with prohibiting in general terms, all such usages as interfered with the King's prerogative. I professed ready acquiescence, and then they proceeded to particulars.

1. “ I was forbidden to summon before me any inhabitant of my diocese, at the suit either of widow, orphan, or Cleric, till the King's law-officer or the Lord of the Manor had failed to award justice. 2. I was not to hear

¹ Rotrou, son of the Earl of Warwick, and Margaret of la Perche. In 1165 he was promoted to the Archbishopric of Rouen, in which character he will often be mentioned in the sequel.

² In the English calendar it is styled, St. Peter's day; in the Roman, “ *natalis Apostolorum Petri et Pauli*.” In these letters it is commonly called “ *natalis Apostolorum*” simply.

any complaint in cases of usury. 3. I was not to pronounce any sentence of excommunication against any Baron, without first either consulting themselves, or obtaining his consent to my judgment. These were the principal points in which I was said to interfere with the King's prerogative, and this especially, in the case of Clerics, whose patrimony, however inherited, I was charged with exonerating from all servile obligations. Moreover, a penalty was attached to my persisting in any such usages for the future. They stated too, that in all this they had not gone to the extent of their commission, but that out of respect for my person they had ventured to suppress much on their own responsibility; that the penalties, which in their instructions attached to myself, they would undertake to transfer to others; i. e. to the persons who should attend my summons, at the suit of the parties above mentioned; and in cases of usury, to the accused, if he dared to appear before me, as well as the accuser. If, however, I should proceed to excommunicate either of these persons in case of contumacy, or any tenant in capite of the King's whatsoever, without first consulting themselves; such persons should be informed, that the King would not interfere with any retribution they might think fit to exact, either from myself in person, or from my goods, or from the person or goods of any cleric who should dare either to publish or act upon my sentence. To all this I answered humbly and respectfully, that though I had no witness of what they stated to me, still I must refer the whole matter to the judgment of my Church: for that I could not myself resign a right which the Church claimed upon prescriptive usage. Afterwards, when on my having conferred with the Church, it was found that I meant to persist in upholding its privileges, he published these ordinances, first to the barons of Poi-

tiers, and then to the citizens in general. Such was the transaction in which I found an ostensible reason for going to Tours. I added also, that in case I failed to obtain full information, it would be necessary for me to proceed to Sens¹.

“On my arriving at Tours, I found that the officers, whom I mentioned above, having fully determined on proceeding to Auvergne, had that very day set out for the castle of Loches: so I followed them without delay, and at the castle found William Fitzhamon and Hugh de Cleers. The others had started before daybreak for Chateaux-roux. From these I obtained information on my own affair: but what I most rejoiced at was the accident which thus enabled me to lay your letter before Hugh de Cleers. On finding that his Chaplain G—— was not with him, I stated that in case of his absence I was commissioned to supply his place by reading it myself, and interpreting its contents; and afterwards, if he pleased, by writing any answer he might wish to dictate. But as he had not time then for saying all he wished, I allowed him to retain, under a promise of fidelity, both your letter to G——, and also that which I had read to himself. He seems to be much distressed for his master, and to fear that his conduct will be visited by a judgment.

“The Bishop of Evreux and the others I have only pursued by letter. I send the bearer from this castle of Loches, where I am. I have sent a courier to the Abbot of Pontigni to beg that he will meet me at Sens, to back the solicitations of the Abbots of Clairvaux and Fossa Nova², in case they should happen to be at Court.

¹ Alexander III. was now residing with his court at Sens.

² A Cistercian Monastery in Latium, about two miles from Piperno, and as many from the Pontine Marshes. Thomas Aquinas died there. [Hoffman.]

“As soon as any thing has been effected, I will take care to inform you by a trusty messenger. In conclusion, I entreat your Lordship, in behalf of your Chaplain and my friend, Turstan de Burins, that he may be allowed to visit me, for any time, however short. If you are in want of his services, I will send him back directly.”

After writing the foregoing letter, the Bishop of Poitiers continued his route towards Sens; but before he reached it, news arrived, that the King had proposed his plans of Church reform, to a council of the English Bishops assembled in London, and had been defeated by the opposition of the Archbishop of Canterbury. The following account of the proceedings of this council is translated from a contemporary historian.

“Henry, King of England, Duke of Normandy and Aquitain, and Earl of Anjou, came to London on the first day of October, in the year of the Incarnate Word, 1163, and with him, Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury; Roger, Archbishop of York; and their Lordships the other Bishops of England.

“This assembly met, solely or principally, to recognize the claims of the Metropolitan of Canterbury to the Primacy of all England. Nor was any opposition raised, except on the part of the Archbishop of York.

“When this was settled, the King of England laid before their Lordships the Bishops, certain harsh proposals, for which no one was prepared. In the first place, he complained of iniquitous conduct on the part of the Archdeacons, who, as he

said, made a profit of other men's misconduct, by exacting, in lieu of the accustomed penance, sums of money, which they appropriated to their own use; and declared his pleasure that for the future no Archdeacon should cite any offender, however notorious, without the consent of the civil magistrate. Then proceeding to another point, he stated his anxiety to devise some means for the better preservation of peace and good order in his kingdom, and his regret at hearing instances of disorderly conduct among the Clergy, several of whom were known to have been guilty of theft, rapine, and even murder.

“‘It is my request, therefore,’ said he, ‘that you my Lord of Canterbury, and your brother Bishops, in cases like these, should degrade the criminal from his orders, and then deliver him up to my courts of justice for corporal punishment. It is also my will and request, that on these occasions you should allow the presence of a Crown officer to prevent the escape of the criminal after his degradation.’

“His Lordship of Canterbury wished to defer his answer to the following day; but when this was denied, he retired with the other Bishops, and the following discussion ensued.

“The Bishops contended that the world must obey the world's laws,—that degraded Clerics must be given up to the civil magistrate, and suffer corporal punishment as well as spiritual; nor could they see the injustice of thus doubly punishing persons who, as they enjoyed higher privileges than

other men, when they abused these, were doubly guilty. Nor was this only the world's law: the infliction of corporal punishment in such cases was sanctioned by Scripture itself, which sentenced offending Levites to mutilation, and even death.

“On the other hand, his Lordship of Canterbury asserted, that to visit a single offence with double punishment, was alike unjust and uncanonical, and that the letter of Scripture was express against it. ‘Moreover,’ he added, ‘we must be on our guard against lending ourselves to any designs upon the Liberty of the Church; for which, according to the example of our great High Priest, we are bound by our office to contend, even unto death. But ye have not yet resisted unto death.’

“The Bishops answered, that by sacrificing the Liberty of the Church they in no way compromised the Church itself. ‘Indeed,’ said they, ‘such a course would rather tend to strengthen it. An obstinate resistance on our part can end in nothing but our own ruin; whereas, by giving way to the King on this point, we may retain our inheritance in God’s sanctuary, and repose in the peaceable possession of our Churches. We are placed in difficult circumstances, and the temper of the times requires of us large concessions.’

“On this his Lordship of Canterbury, being very zealous for the House of God, spoke as follows: ‘I see, my Lords, that you disguise to yourselves your cowardice, under the name of patience, and that on this pretext of concession you would enslave

the spouse of Christ. My Lords, the cause of God is not so ill supported, as to require your fall, that it may stand. Nor is the Most High at a loss for means to uphold His Church, though unaided by the truckling policy of its governors. Your Lordships, it seems, would deal considerately by our Lord Christ, as though He were of Himself powerless to defend His Spouse, and stood in need of your ingenious devices.

“ ‘ Know, my Lords, that this temper of the times is the very thing which constitutes your trial. For when is it, I pray you, that a Bishop is called on to expose himself to danger? Think you that it is in tranquil times? I, for my part, (God is my witness) do not dare to recede from that form of government which has been handed down to us by those Holy Fathers, the Bishops of old.’ ”

“ These words of the Archbishop's were soon carried to the King's ears; and straightway you might see all the pillars of the Church to tremble as reeds before the wind: nor did anything support them against the terrors with which they were threatened, except the firmness of his Lordship of Canterbury.

“ When the King found that in this instance his will was ineffectual, he immediately took different ground, and merely put to them the question, whether it was their intention to conform unreservedly to the usages of his kingdom. His Lordship of Canterbury answered advisedly, that he would conform to them without reserve, as far as

they consisted with the privileges of his Order. The same question was then put to each singly, and the same answer was returned by all. The King insisted that they should pledge themselves absolutely, without any exception in favour of their Order. But his Lordship of Canterbury refused to give further pledges, without authority from the Vicar of Christ."

From the three following letters it will be seen what a sensation these proceedings caused in France. It does not appear, however, to have effected any immediate change in the posture of the Archbishop's affairs. His friend, John of Salisbury, was indeed banished in consequence of it; and he himself seems to have wished for some excuse for withdrawing himself from England. But his communications with the Pope still relate exclusively to the subject already mentioned, the schismatical opposition made to him by the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of London, and the Abbot of St. Augustine's, through whom the King was endeavouring to undermine his authority. The first of the following letters is from the Archbishop's envoy, who seems to have been despatched on this errand to Sens, immediately after the Council of London: the second is from John of Salisbury, who, on his banishment, sought an asylum in Paris: the third from the Bishop of Poitiers, shortly after his arrival at Sens.

M. HENRY¹, TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

SENS, OCT. 1163.

“ I did not find the Earl of Flanders, and judged it neither safe nor expedient to deviate from my route in search of him.

“ At Soissons, the King of France received myself and my charge with evident pleasure, and at once despatched the Prior of St. Mard with letters to the Pope. The Prior is a man of great weight and discretion, and was charged with matters respecting your Lordship, more important than the King would trust his secretary to write. On taking my leave, his Majesty took my hand into his own, and pledged himself on the word of a King, that, if chance ever brought your Lordship into his dominions, he would receive you neither as a Bishop nor an Archbishop,

¹ Ep. i. 23. In the Latin, it is “ nuntius suus;” but from I. 24, it appears that the name of the messenger was, “ Magister Henricus.” The following is the letter in which the Archbishop recommends him to the Pope. “ If my distresses were less, my consolation would be great, as I reflect on your Holiness’s condescending letter; or were they single, however sad, I might find on it some hope of respite. But now, from day to day iniquity waxes strong; wrongs are multiplied,—not our’s, but Christ’s; yea, because Christ’s, so much the more our’s; they come one after another like waves; surely shipwreck awaits us. No resource is now left us but to call on Him that sleepeth in our ship, ‘ Lord, save us, we perish.’ And so much the fiercer is their malignity, that they see the holy Roman Church less strong;—for truly, that which is poured out upon the head, be it good or bad, sweet or bitter, ‘ runneth down upon the beard, and even unto the skirts of our clothing.’ Jesus Christ is robbed of what He purchased with His blood; the secular arm is put forth against His portion; the authority of the Holy Fathers

but as a brother Sovereign. The Earl of Soissons too, assured me most solemnly, that he would consign the whole revenues of his Earldom to your Lordship's use, and that if I would return from Sens his way, he would send you a letter to that effect.

“Having finished my business at Soissons, I hastened to Court in the Prior's company, through the estates of Earl Henry. The way was shortest, and my companion was a guarantee for my safety. Two days before I was admitted to the Pope's presence, the Prior delivered the King's letters, and the commission with which he was entrusted by word of mouth. At length I had an audience. His Holiness on receiving me sighed deeply, and betrayed other signs of dejection. He had already heard all that took place in the Council,—the persecution of the Church, your Lordship's firmness, which of the Bishops stood by you, how he went out from among you who was not of you, the sentence passed upon the Cleric; indeed everything, even what had been done most secretly, was known before my arrival to the whole Court, and even talked of

avails not; the canons of the Church, whose very name is hated amongst us, can no longer protect even the Clergy.

“But not to weary your Holiness by detailing our calamities, I have sent M. Henry, of whose fidelity your Holiness is well assured, to explain the whole state of things by word of mouth. Your Holiness may trust him as myself; yet, were such a course possible, I would rather communicate with you in person. I speak as to my Father and Lord; let this last request be concealed in silence: nothing is now safe: whatever passes in your Holiness's conclave is repeated in the King's ear.

“Woe is me, that I am reserved for these times, in which these evils are come upon us. Truly I had fled, lest my eyes should see the violation of the crucified One; yet whither, whither except to Him who is our refuge and our strength?”—
(Ep. i. 18.)

in the streets. A secret interview was then granted me, in which I laid before his Holiness the several heads of our memorial. He, on his part, praised God without ceasing, for vouchsafing to the Church such a shepherd. Indeed the whole Court loudly extol in your Lordship that courage, in which themselves are so lamentably deficient. As for themselves, they are lost in imbecility, and fear God less than man. They have just heard of the capture of Radicofani in Tuscany, and in it of the Pope's uncle and nephews. Other castles too, belonging to the fathers of certain Cardinals, have surrendered to the Germans. Besides this, John de Cumin has now been a long time at the Emperor's court, and Earl Henry absents himself from the Pope's presence, and no messenger has of late arrived from the King of England; and other concurring events have so terrified them, that there is no prince whom they would dare to offend; nor would they, if they could, raise a hand in defence of the Church, which is now in danger all over the world. But of this enough.

“What has been the success of your Lordship's petitions, you will doubtless hear from the Prior, and from the Bishop of Poitiers, who by God's grace arrived here the day before myself, and has laboured in your Lordship's cause with most friendly zeal. His Holiness declines altogether to offend the King, and has written to the Archbishop of York, in a tone rather hortatory than commanding. However he will send over a brother of the Temple, to mediate between your Lordships on the subject of the Cross, and to settle any dispute that may arise in the interim. At all events, the Archbishop of York is not to carry his cross in your diocese; this we obtained by dint of perseverance. To the Bishop of London he has written in the same strain, and the only effect of the letter will be to make his pride insolent. Indeed the Pope feels this,

and sends your Lordship a copy of the letter, that you may judge for yourself, whether to forward or retain it. As to the profession, his Lordship of Poitiers has debated it with the Pópe repeatedly, and we have at last obtained a promise, that, if on being demanded it is formally refused, then his Holiness will extort it. The Bishop will explain this in his second letter; the subscription will distinguish the second from the first. In the matter of St. Augustine we can obtain nothing¹. The Pope asserts that he has himself seen grants of his predecessors which he cannot revoke, securing the privileges now claimed by that monastery. Lastly, on our requesting that his Holiness would send your Lordship a summons to appear before him, he answered with much apparent distress, ‘God forbid! rather may I end my days, than see him leave England on such terms, and bereave his Church at such a crisis.’

“May God preserve your Lordship in all your ways. At Citeaux, Pontigni, and Clairvaux, by the Pope’s request, prayer is offered daily for yourself, and your Church. May my Lord inform me shortly how he fares, that my spirit may be consoled in the day of its visitation.”

¹ The Archbishop’s petition was, that this Abbot Elect of St. Augustine, should be compelled to accept the pastoral benediction from his hands—Ep. i. 75. The Pope seems to have consented, but with a reservation which made the consent nugatory; ordering the Abbot to accept the benediction, ‘ita tamen quod postea, si tu vel successores tui volueritis aliquo tempore adversus ecclesiam Cantuareresum quæstionem de jure movere, nullum ex hoc vobis et ecclesiæ vestræ præjudicium in posterum generetur.’ The letter containing this order was dated, Montpelier, July 10, and must have been written earlier than this from M. Henry: it seems, therefore, that the Archbishop had been dissatisfied with it, and was petitioning for something decisive.

JOHN OF SALISBURY, TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY¹. PARIS, OCT. 1163.

“ Ever since I have been on this side the water, I seem to myself to have been breathing a different atmosphere. The country around me is so fertile, and the people so quiet and cheerful, that I feel quite refreshed after the storms I have left behind me.

“ On my landing, I found that at the request of Arnulph, his uncle, the Earl² had sent some of his retainers to attend on me. I was treated with the greatest courtesy by them on your Lordship's account, and, with all my followers, was conducted through the Earl's territory, free of all the customary exactions, as far as St. Omer's. Here I fell in with a monk, who used sometimes

¹ Ep. i. 24. The following is an extract from a letter of the Abbot of St. Remy, (in France) written about this time to the Abbot (Amande) :—

“ There is a Cleric from England now living in exile amongst us, a very dear friend of mine, in whose prosperity and adversity for a long time back I have been much interested: a person of great literary knowledge, and of a character to admire the more, the more you know him. He is at present suffering from the King's displeasure, most undeservedly, I really think; his only crime being, that he has served his Archbishop faithfully. The person is no other than M. John of Salisbury, he who has so high a reputation both on this and the other side of the Channel. It would be doing a great favour both to myself and him, if you and the Earl of Flanders would intercede with the King for him, with a view to a reconciliation, and (should you think it practicable) procure him leave to return to his country, and enjoy his property again.” Ep. J. S. c. xix.

² Comes Epmensis.

to be staying at Chilleham¹ and Trulege, and through him I was honourably received at the monastery of St. Bertins. It is clear to me, that in this country the Church is well-disposed to your cause. Please to thank both the Earl and the monks when you have the opportunity.

“ When I arrived at Arras, I found that Earl Philip was at the Castle² which so long shut out the tyrant of Ypres. God had all along favoured my journey, and now I found the very man I was in quest of, almost in the public road. Like other men of fortune, who please themselves with such trifles, Earl Philip was following the course of all the rivers, swamps, and oozing streamlets, in pursuit of wild fowl. He rejoiced to have fallen in with some one who could give him a correct account of the state of England: and for my part, I was doubly delighted that God had placed him in my way, and thus enabled me to execute your commission without more loss of time and money. He put many questions to me about the King and the Nobles, and I contrived to answer them without saying anything offensive, yet at the same time keeping clear of falsehood. He expressed compassion for your difficulties, and promised his assistance. He will procure ships for you when you need it, on receiving notice: if³ you are driven to this, send on Philip, your steward, to make a bargain with the sailors under the Earl’s sanction.

“ With this assurance I left the Earl, and the following day arrived at Noyon, where, to my surprise, I found that

¹ Cf. Bib. Vet. Pat. 1662. Ep. J. S. 126.—where it appears, that at this time the Church of Chilleham in Kent, belonged to the monastery of St. Bertins. The monk had probably been there on business.

² [Exclusam Castrum. Exclusa is a miller’s pool, unless it be the name of a place.]

the state of things in England was generally known; indeed many things were said to have occurred in the Councils of London and Winchester which I had not heard before, and everything was exaggerated for the worse. I studiously dissembled all knowledge of what was currently reported, but could not obtain credit. You will wonder to hear me say, that the day I was at Noyon, the Earl of Soissons detailed to me, *seriatim*, all the articles of the so-called London Council, with as much minuteness and accuracy as if he had been there himself. He knew, not only what had passed in the palace, but what had been said most secretly in this or that private circle. Indeed I cannot doubt that the French must have had there, either from among their own countrymen or ours, some very able emissaries. The Dean of Noyon, who is an excellent man, was much concerned to hear your situation: he holds himself in readiness to receive you, and will gladly devote his property and personal services to yourself and the Church of Canterbury. It was his intention, before he heard of your difficulties, to set out at once for the Pope's court, but now he will wait for further information. While at Noyon, I was told for certain, that the King of France was at Laon, and that the Archbishop of Rheims was in that neighbourhood, waiting for a conference; so my first thought was to seek them there, but I was prevented by the wars in which the Archbishop is engaged against Earl de Ruzeio and other Nobles¹, and instead turned off to Paris.

¹ Cf. Bib. Vet. 1622, letter of Peter, Abbot of Celles, B. vi. l. 3; where mention is made of bloody feuds in the neighbourhood of Rheims, carried on by Guiscard Comes de Ruzeio, Comes Recensis, [Trecensis] and Hugo de Petriponte. They are said to have desolated the whole country.

“ Here I was so struck by the abundance of provisions, the joyousness of the people, their reverence for the Priesthood, the splendour of the Church, and the various pursuits of the students, that I felt inclined to exclaim with Jacob, ‘ Surely the Lord is in this place, and I knew it not.’ I thought, too, of what the Poet had said,

‘ *Felix exilium cui locus ille datur*¹.’

“ After a few days spent in looking out for a lodging and arranging my baggage, I presented myself to the King, and laid your cause before him.—To cut matters short, he sympathizes with you, and promises his assist-

¹ About this time John of Salisbury seems to have written a joking letter to the Abbot of St. Remy, affecting to be wearied with the excitement of a Paris life. The Abbot’s answer begins thus :—“ Truly, mi carissime, you have chosen an agreeable place of exile : where are pleasures in abundance (of the vain sort, I confess ;) rich entertainments and choice wines (more than you have at home ;) friendly meetings ; agreeable parties. Who ever, besides you, did not think Paris a delightful place ?—a garden, a pleasure ground, a summer field. However, many true words are spoken in jest. Ah, Paris, what a city art thou to fascinate and deceive ! What nets hast thou to catch people, what allurements to evil, what arrows of darkness to transfix the hearts of the foolish ! So thinks Joannes meus ; and he selects his place of exile accordingly. Would that he could really vote it intolerable, as he pretends to do, and find his way back to his country again in right earnest.” Ep. Pet. Cel. iv. 10.

The Abbot of St. Remy is commonly called ‘ Petrus Cellensis,’ from the monastery of which he was Abbot before his promotion to that of St. Remy, A.D. 1162. His letters are published in the Bib. Max. Vet. Pat. 1622. Many of them are addressed to John of Salisbury and his brother Richard, and are in the same affectionate and playful style as the above. He supported them both during the greater part of their banishment. On the death of John of Salisbury, he succeeded to the See of Chartres, A.D. 1180.

ance. He told me he had already written to the Pope in your behalf, and that if there is occasion he will do so again, or will use his influence in person.....Among the French our King is alike feared and hated, but this between ourselves. I was unable to see the Archbishop of Rheims, but have forwarded your letters to my particular friend, the Abbot of St. Remy, requesting him to supply my place. I think, however, you will do wisely to send him despatches immediately from yourself, either by a monk of Boxley, or some other trusty messenger, and to accompany them with a present. His friendship may be of importance to you, for whatever may be thought of himself, he is a great man in this country, and partly through the King, partly on account of his exalted rank, he has much influence with the Church of Rome.

“To allay suspicion as far as possible, I have not ventured to court: and I learn from the Bishop of Poitiers that the Pope is aware of my reason. On receiving your Lordship's letter, I explained to my Lords, Henry of Pisa, and William of Pavia, how perniciously the Church must be affected by conceding what is demanded of you. I still defer my visit to the Court till I learn the motions of the Bishop of Lisieux, and the Abbot of St. Augustine's. M. Henry, who is on the spot, will send me immediate notice of their arrival. Yet what to do when I am there I scarcely see. Many things make against you, and few for you. Great men will be arriving there, profuse in their presents, against which Rome never was proof, backed, not only by their own power, but that of a King whom no one in the Court dares offend. Besides they are protected by grants from the Church of Rome¹, which in

¹ Probably grants of independence to the monastery of St. Augustine's. (vid. Chron. William Thorn.) It was the policy

a cause like this neither regards Bishop nor friend. In this very cause his Holiness has from the first opposed us, and ceases not to find fault with what was done for us by Adrian, that friend of the Church of Canterbury, whose mother still lives among you, penancing herself with cold and hunger. We, then, humble and poor, and with no grants to protect us, what shall we have but words to offer to these Italians? But they have well studied their Poet's lesson, 'not to pay a price for promises.' Your Lordship writes, that, as a last step if all other resources fail us, I am to promise two hundred marks. But our adversaries, rather than lose their object, will pay down three or four hundred.

'Nec si muneribus certas concedet Iolas.'

And truly I will answer for the Italians, that in consideration of the love they bear his Majesty, and of their respect for his messengers, they will be content rather to receive a great sum, than to accept a small one. And yet in some respects they side with your Lordship, because you are troubled for the liberty of the Church: though here too the King's apologists and your Lordship's rivals endeavour to undermine your cause, attributing your conduct rather to rashness than spirit; and to back their insinuations, they hold out hopes to the Pope [(the whisper has already reached my ears)] that he will be invited to England, and that the coronation of the King's son is delayed till the Apostolical hand can consecrate him. There are some

of the see of Rome to exempt the principal monasteries from Episcopal jurisdiction, and adopt the monks as '*speciales Romanæ Ecclesiæ filios.*' Cf. Ep. D. T. i. 7. In which the Archbishop's envoy writes him word, "*ex hâc occasione (Dominus Papa) Monasterium B. Augustini præ cunctis retinebit omnino : quia credibile est omnes sibi malle quam alteri.*"

who already insult us with the threat that his Holiness will take possession of the Church of Canterbury, and remove your Lordship's Candlestick. However, I do not believe that as yet such a thought has been conceived by himself, as I hear that he is really grateful for your constancy. Of one thing I am sure, that when Lisieux¹ is come, there is nothing he will hesitate to assert; I know him well, and have tasted his wiles. As to the Abbot, who can doubt about him?

“I have just heard from the Bishop of Poitiers that he can obtain nothing for you in the matter of St. Augustine's, though he has laboured hard for it. I will go, however, God willing, since your Lordship commands it, and will try what I can effect. If I fail, the blame is not mine, for as the poet says,

‘Non est in medico semper relevetur ut æger,
Interdum doctâ plus valet arte malum.’”

THE BISHOP OF POITIERS TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF
CANTERBURY². SENS, OCT. 1163.

“Before I saw your Lordship's messenger your fame had reached me, and urged me forward on my way to the Court. However I was not there in time to carry the news. On my arrival, I found that every thing was

¹ John of Salisbury had come into contact with this Bishop before. In the collection of his letters (Bib. Vet. Pat. 1622,) he writes thus:—“That Bishop of Lisieux is a mallet of iniquity, made for grinding down the Church of God. Here he has been inflaming the King against me to such a degree, that the latter has denounced me to my Lord of Canterbury and the Chancellor, as a disaffected person; and said that I must be excluded from the list of his friends and liegemen.”

² Ep. i. 25.

known, and that everybody was praising God for having raised up a man to speak the truth before princes.

“Your Lordship has sustained the hereditary glories of your patriarchate, and surpassed even the deeds of your predecessors. In their days the Church was less dependent, and princes more tractable; nor was our holy mother, the Church of Rome, then torn, as she is now, by schism. God, who has given you courage to begin, will also give you constancy to persevere, and will assuredly recompense your perseverance, if not with success, yet with a consummation still more devoutly to be wished. But as to human assistance, you will look in vain to the Church of Rome, for any support against the King.

“I myself, as well as your Lordship’s envoy, have been labouring many days, in furtherance of your petitions, yet have scarce obtained an answer to one, and to that in hesitating terms, and not in writing. Yet, my Lord, Henry of Pisa still hopes that he shall get a renewal of his profession, extorted from the Bishop of London. I fear he is too sanguine; for I have already used every argument that seemed likely to carry weight with it.—First, that his translation had cancelled his former obligation: for (1.) that he could not have been admitted to his present see till after he had vacated his former one; and that on so vacating, he ceased to be dependent on the see of Canterbury:—(2.) that this argument was obvious, in the case of a translation from one province to another, where a new profession is exacted, and consequently the former cancelled, as a matter of course: next, to show the expediency of requiring a profession in this case, I urged the fact, that at a late council he had carried himself as if independent: also, I brought forward the parallel case, that when any one received a second feud from the same Lord, he did homage a second time. To all this it was

answered, that a profession once made, obliged the person making it till he changed his Province: and that a second profession could be exacted by your Lordship only on the plea, that by the custom of your Church, the former was made to your predecessors individually, and not to his office; and if so, that the obligation arose, not from the Bishop's circumstances, but from your Lordship's. As to the Abbot of St. Augustine's, in that matter, your Lordship may in vain look for consolation.

“Wherefore, my beloved father and Lord, in all that you resolve upon, you must look solely to the will of God, and to the interests of the Church over which he has appointed you. This must be your only consolation, your only hope. I too, as I am informed, have no better prospects before me. May it be my lot, either to partake exile with you, or to taste it first. Nor will such a lot be altogether unenviable, if we, who through the vain love of this world, have before now together abused prosperity, at last, when our time is come, shall accept adversity as from the hand of God. Our friend Cardinal Henry of Pisa, is endeavouring to procure for us a safe place of refuge; and he tells me he has intimated to you, through the Abbot [Almoner], his readiness to do the same for yourself. I am now going to Pontigni, to ask the prayers of the monastery in our behalf. We may yet pray to God, though human aid cannot be looked for. The Pope himself has commended our cause to the prayers of Clairvaux. May my Lord fare well.”

This lukewarmness and timidity on the part of Rome, of which the Archbishop's correspondents complain, had the effect of discouraging his own friends, as well as stimulating the zeal of the King's party. About the time when he must have received

the above letters, two of the Clerics who were most in his confidence, Robert Foliot, Archdeacon of Oxford, and Jordan de Melbourne, Archdeacon of Chichester, signified to him their fears, that by continuing in his service, they were only drawing down on themselves the King's displeasure, without any prospect of really benefitting the Church, and requested his permission to withdraw. And the Abbot [mentioned in the last letter,] who was the Pope's accredited agent in England, urged very strongly upon him the inexpediency of persisting in his opposition to the King's wishes¹.

Thus deserted on all sides, by those to whom he might have looked for counsel and support, the Primate seems for a time to have felt misgivings, as to the correctness of his judgment, and to have hesitated to involve the Church in a protracted conflict with the State, in the maintainance of principles to which no one but himself appeared to attach importance. Early in 1164, when the plan of Church reform, which had been submitted to the Bishops the preceding autumn, was formally adopted by the Parliament at Clarendon; and when, in consequence, he and the other Bishops would have been in the eye of the law rebels, had they refused to conform to it, he certainly so far

¹ "Asserebat autem se a Romano Pontifici directum, qui Regis eum voluntatibus obtemperare persuaderet, dicens Dominum Regem jurejurando cavisse quia nihil in præjudicium ecclesiæ postularet. Si quid sic præsumeretur, Dominum Papam sibi malle imputari, quam pacem non reformari." Quadril. p. 37.

gave way as to pledge himself to obedience, on terms which he afterwards considered highly culpable. What the exact nature of the pledge was is not indeed clearly stated. In some histories, he is said to have promised obedience *bonâ fide, sine malo ingenio* ; other authorities add the qualifying word ‘legitime :’ one thing, however, is beyond a doubt, viz. that the consent he gave was subject to the Pope’s approval ; for that the King, after having obtained it, required him and the other Bishops to petition for this approval, and forwarded their petition himself by a special embassy to Sens. But though the Primate’s consent was granted thus conditionally, it must undoubtedly be looked on as an act of weakness out of keeping with the general loftiness of his character ; and teaches us to regard him as not exempted from those softer influences, which have in less trying circumstances often reconciled good men to more compromising conduct. However, as events turned out, the consequences of this unhappy concession were less disastrous to the Church than might have been expected. When Henry’s ambassadors arrived at Sens, they discovered that the Pope was for once prepared to act with resolution. Though on all former occasions he had refused to support the Archbishop against the King, yet he was now found equally unwilling to take a decided part with the latter. Like other weak men he seems to have determined on steering a middle course between contending parties, or rather on observing a strict neutrality,

and allowing events to shape their course for themselves. Thus the decrees of Clarendon, for want of his confirmation, remained incomplete ; the conditional assent they had received from the Bishops was cancelled ; and as the Archbishop had now recovered his firmness, there was little hope of procuring submission to them by menaces. Here then a temporary check was given to the progress of the King's schemes. Coercive measures might indeed have been adopted by him, such as those which he afterwards showed himself capable of resorting to ; but, as things now stood, these would have brought him at once into open collision with the Church of Rome, and would besides have placed the Archbishop in the position of a martyr. It was politic at least, if not necessary, to defer the perpetration of any violent act, till some pretext could be assigned for it, in no way relating to any ecclesiastical or religious question ; and such, if possible, as might fix a stigma on the suffering party.

Thus matters stood between the contending parties till the Autumn of 1164, when an expedient suggested itself, that gave an entirely new appearance to the whole contest.

CHAPTER IV.

THE PERSECUTION.

THE Archbishop, while Chancellor of England, had been entrusted with the entire and almost irresponsible disposal of the King's finances, and the sums which at this time had passed through his hands in the prosecution of the war at Toulouse, as well as those expended on the repair of several regal fortresses, which had been dismantled during the late civil wars, were very large indeed. True it was, that, on his appointment to his present office, his accounts had been formally audited and past. But then, for that reason, he was the less likely to have retained possession of documents, such as would enable him to make them good a second time ; and it might seem that, after an interval of two years, during which his thoughts had been wholly occupied in other channels, he could now be accused as a defaulter to any amount, with little chance of repelling the accusation. This, therefore, was chosen as the ostensible ground of a prosecution ; in which, to whatever lengths it might be carried, the Archbishop would appear as a State

criminal, rather than as a champion of the Church. And now, when the plan of operations had been determined, the King's party seemed resolved on coming at once to extreme measures, such as would altogether crush their opponent if he refused to bend before them. A Parliament met at Northampton, October 6, 1164: the day following, the Archbishop was arraigned before it; and in the five first days of its sitting, affairs took such a turn, as to make it evident that, if he remained in England, it must be on terms such as those which the statute of *præmunire* has since suspended over the heads of his less inflexible successors. The day of the meeting of Parliament was Tuesday: the Wednesday and Thursday following were spent in examining minor charges, relating principally to some informality of which the Archbishop had been guilty, "in having neglected to attend to a King's citation, in the case of a certain John (Mareschal), and not sent any satisfactory excuse for so doing¹." Yet the sentence passed upon him, even in this preliminary stage of the proceedings, was the forfeiture of all his moveable possessions². On the Friday he was sued for a personal debt to the King, first of five hundred marks, lent him while with the army at Toulouse, and secondly with five hundred more, which he had borrowed from a Jew, and for the

¹ "Quia scilicet a Rege citatus pro causâ cujusdam Joannis (Mareschalli) neque venisset, neque idoneè se excusasset."

² "Condemnandum eum dixerunt in pœnam pecuniariam omnium bonorum suorum mobilium ad misericordiam Regis."

payment of which the King had made himself responsible. Three hundred more he was likewise said to have spent on the tower of London, with no authority for so doing¹. Intimations too were held

¹ The preposterous nature of these claims has justly been exposed by Mr. Turner, who gives the following account of the trial.

“When the Parliament opened, the attacks on Becket began, and they exhibit a series of vindictive and determined persecutions. He was accused of refusing justice to a suitor. His answer was decisive. The complainant, instead of swearing to his case on the Gospels, had made his oath on a book of songs which he had brought with him. This charge being found frivolous, he was arraigned for high treason, in not obeying the King’s citation to appear before him on this subject. He answered, that he had sent four knights to explain the imperfection of the man’s oath. This reason was not deemed sufficient to excuse the disobedience to the summons of his liege lord, and he was condemned to lose all his personal property at the mercy of the King—a sentence most disproportionate to the offence.

“He was next charged with having received three hundred pounds from the wardenship of the castles of Eye and Berkham : he pleaded that he had expended the money in their repairs. The King descended to reply, that they were done without his orders, and demanded judgment. Becket, with his accustomed and superior greatness of soul as to money, disdained to let that be a cause of discord between him and his Sovereign, and gave security for the payment. Another article was a loan of five hundred pounds, which he asserted to have been a gift. These were all petty accusations, unworthy of the royal dignity, to prefer against a person so distinguished ; and Becket’s submitting to answer so readily to a lay tribunal, was such a striking obedience to the Constitutions of Clarendon, that it ought to have terminated the discord.

“The third day of his impeachment produced a demand which

out that there were still heavier charges in reserve. In this stage of the proceedings, Henry, Bishop of Winchester, a man whose magnificence was on many occasions conspicuous, went to the King in private, and offered him two thousand marks of his own, if he would waive farther claims on the Archbishop; but this was refused at once, and the reason was sufficiently plain, when on the day following, (Saturday) the immense demand of forty-four thousand was advanced, on a plea so obviously iniquitous, as to set all argument or conciliation at

implied the spirit of determined revenge. This was a claim for his receipts of the revenues of the dignities of the Church, during their vacancies in his Chancellorship. His answer to this charge was decisive, as between him and his Sovereign. He had not been questioned for these moneys before his consecration as Archbishop, and therefore he entered his See exonerated from this responsibility. The fairness of this answer was irrefragable. If the King had meant to make him account for his receipts and expenditures as minister, he ought not to have appointed him Archbishop; if he had not intended to exact responsibility on this subject, when he raised him to the prelacy, it was dishonourable now to make the charge. Becket's expenditure, though extravagant, had been visible; the king tacitly sanctioned it, by continuing him in his office, and by his subsequent promotion. In the year that elapsed between his nomination and consecration, his pecuniary responsibility, ought, if ever, to have been exacted; but it is obvious that his sovereign never meant to require such an account, and therefore the accusation now became the malice of the law, exerting its latent power to the sacrifice of its morality. The answer not ending the charge, which amounted to 44,000 marks of silver, Becket desired time to consult with his clergy."—Turner's History of England, vol. i. p. 253.

defiance. At the deliberation of Sunday, the Archbishop did not think it proper to be present, and the day following a sudden and violent illness prevented him leaving his lodgings. On Tuesday he prepared himself to meet the worst that might befall him. The first thing in the morning, he celebrated the Holy Sacrament at the Altar of St. Stephen's, selecting the service which was appropriated to the commemoration of that Martyr,—“The Princes sat and spoke against me.” When service was over, he laid aside his pall and mitre, but in the rest of his Pontifical robes proceeded to the Council chamber, carrying with him the blessed Eucharist. On arriving there, he bid his cross-bearer, Alexander Lewellen, deliver into his own hand the solemn standard of Patriarchal authority, and to the dismay of his friends, who seem to have regarded this act as an open defiance of the secular power, took his seat thus armed at the head of the incensed Nobility.

Owing to the oratorical style of the Archbishop's biographers, the proceedings of this day are involved in some obscurity. The result, however, appears to have been, first of all, that he forbade the Bishops, in virtue of their canonical obedience, to take any part in the remainder of the prosecution; and that they, little disposed as they were to offend the government, felt themselves nevertheless so hampered by their consecration oaths, as not to venture to disobey him any further than by appealing against his order to the See of Rome. Secondly,

that, on the Bishops declining to act, the lay Nobles manifested a strange reluctance to proceed with the business by themselves, and more especially that they shrunk from encountering the Primate face to face in the delivery of his sentence. It may be that they were influenced by a feeling of superstition, or perhaps some recollection crossed them connected with their own past history and his, at the time when they had bowed before him as the leader of the English Chivalry. So however it was, that when the King peremptorily insisted on their proceeding to judgment, and when, at the urgent request of the others, Robert, Earl of Leicester, had most reluctantly taken upon himself the obnoxious office of spokesman, on presenting himself in that character, he, as well as his companions, were so cowed by the Primate's grave refusal to hear their sentence, that they returned at once to the King's chamber to ask for further instructions. On their retiring, the Primate waited a short time for the result of their interview, then, as nothing immediately followed, he rose from his seat, withdrew slowly from the Council chamber, and returned to the monastery where he lodged. Such at last, if we are to believe Fitz-Stephen, was the unaccountable tenor of this day's deliberation. What follows is more intelligible.

In religious houses of that day it was customary during meal-times, for one of the Chaplains to read aloud a portion of some edifying book. That evening the portion selected for supper was the account

of the persecution of Liberius, from the tripartite ecclesiastical history. In the course of it the text was quoted,—‘ If they persecute you in one city, flee into another.’ At these words the Archbishop’s eyes met those of Herbert de Boscham. When grace had been chaunted, he sent Roger, Bishop of Worcester, Robert, Bishop of Hereford, and his Chaplain, the Bishop of Rochester, to the King, soliciting his permission to leave the country. They shortly returned with the ominous answer, that he should know in the course of the next day : and soon after he received a hint from two Noblemen in whom he could confide, that he must now make his choice between flight and assassination. Accordingly that night he kept vigil in the Church of St. Andrew, and after chaunting the Litany and penitential Psalms, set out on foot just about the first cock-crowing, with only one attendant, a monk of Sempringham, who undertook to guide him to a place of secrecy in the Lincolnshire fens. Before day-break they walked twenty-five miles, to a village called Graham : here the Archbishop took a few hours’ rest, and then continued his route to Lincoln, where he arrived with his companion on the evening of Wednesday, and lodged, as we are informed, in the house of a certain fuller. The next morning they got into a boat, and dropped down the river about forty miles, to a hermitage belonging to Sempringham, situated in the midst of a large swamp. In this retreat the Archbishop rested for three days, i. e. till the end of the week.

The Sunday following he again set out on his journey, and proceeded first to St. Botolph's, about ten miles from the hermitage; thence to a place called (Haverolot) another dependency of the monastery of Sempringham. From this place he prosecuted his route towards the south, walking only by night, and remaining in concealment by day; and on the eighth night arrived at Estrey, on the east coast of Kent, a manor belonging to the Prior of St. Trinity (Canterbury.) At this place there was a secret chamber connected with the Parish Church, in which, unobserved by the congregation, he was able to attend the celebration of the Holy Eucharist, and to receive the kiss of peace from the officiating minister. And here he lay hid a week longer, till his friends had procured a vessel to take him across the water. On the second of November he embarked, and that evening was landed in a cove on the opposite coast, about a league from Gravelines.

However, he was not yet out of Henry's power. Matteo, Earl of Boulogne, on whose estate he landed, hated him for having opposed his marriage with Mary, Abbess of Romsey, and was now anxious to revenge himself. Orders had been given to keep a look out for him on the coast; and as his person was well known, and his arrival generally expected, it was difficult for him to pass undetected, even in the dusk of the evening, in the disguise of a Cistercian monk, under the assumed name of

Brother Christian, by which he passed among his three companions.

Not long after he landed, a boy, who was standing by the road side with a hawk on his wrist, was attracted by the evident pleasure with which the stranger eyed his bird, and cried out, "Here goes the Archbishop." At Gravelines, the landlord of the inn where he spent the night, had longer time for observation, and recognized him, as Herbert de Boscham says, "by his remarkably tall figure, his high forehead, the stern expression of his beautiful countenance, and above all, by the exquisite delicacy of his hands;" a feature which the Archbishop probably owed to his half Asiatic extraction. However his detection in this instance only served to procure him additional attention. The mistress of the inn overpowered him with officious civility, and the landlord himself consented to accompany him the next day as far as St. Omer's, lest he should inadvertently let the secret escape him, if he remained at Gravelines. At St. Omer's, the Archbishop found himself secure in the presence of Philip, Earl of Flanders, who kept the promise he had made to John of Salisbury, and paid him every attention in his power.

From St. Omer's he was conducted to Soissons, in a manner becoming his rank, by a large body of horsemen, in the company of the Abbot of St. Bertins, and Milo, Bishop of Terouenne. At Soissons he was met by the King of France, who received him with open arms, and sent him on with

a large escort to Sens, where Henry's ambassadors had arrived a few days before.

The proceedings that followed in the Pope's court are of little interest. John of Salisbury had augured rightly, when he conjectured that "great men would be coming from England, profuse in their presents and promises." But, on the other hand, the Archbishop was strongly supported by the influence of Louis; and the Pope judged it wise to avoid offending either party if possible. He neither insisted, as the Archbishop wished, on trying the cause in his own presence, and summoning all parties from England; nor, on the other hand, consented to place him again at the disposal of his enemies, by ordering him to return to his see, and sending legates to decide his cause in Henry's dominions.

At this refusal Henry took deep offence. As a first step, he banished and proscribed all the Archbishop's friends and relations, with their whole families; sparing neither sex nor age; confiscating all their goods; and leaving them to find subsistence as they could, in the charity of the continent. The misery which ensued needs no description; yet such was the popularity of the Archbishop's cause, that this secured an asylum for the greater number of the exiles. Monasteries were cheerfully opened to the men, nunneries to the women; many nobles offered large contributions for their support, especially the King of France,

and Matilda, Queen of Sicily¹. This however could not last long; charity was fatigued, and generosity blunted, in time; and before the six years of Becket's exile had been completed, hunger and cold had done its work.

¹ Stephen, Archbishop Elect of Palermo, a Norman by birth, and Richard, Bishop Elect of Syracuse, an Englishman, were likewise very liberal in providing for them. To the latter the Archbishop commends one of his nephews: "*nos quamdiu placuerit Deo, libenter exilii naufragium patiemur, dispersi in omnem ventum cum miseris nostris: quorum unus est lator præsentium G—— sororis nostræ filius.*" Ep. ii. 56. Another nephew he consigns to the charge of Fulke, Dean of Rheims, (Ep. ii. 87.) with a request that he may be made to work hard at his studies: "*a vobis autem hoc specialiter cogitur nostra necessitas postulare; quatenus adolescentem latorem præsentium sororis nostræ filium excipiat in domo vestra, et literis insistere compellatis in scholis Grammaticorum.*"

CHAPTER V.

PROCEEDINGS WHICH FOLLOWED THE ARCH- BISHOP'S BANISHMENT.

The Archbishop's new situation gave rise, of course, to many anxieties, respecting the support and encouragement he was to look for from those upon whose protection he was thrown; especially from the French King and the Court of Rome¹.

¹ The circumstances to which the following letter alludes are not known, but one infers from it that there were among the Cardinals, cautious, moderate persons, extremely jealous of being led, who wished to consider themselves independent of any party. The letter has been inserted, rather to show the characters of those on whom the fate of the Church seemed at that time to depend, than for its direct connexion with the thread of events. To the Archbishop, from one of his Chaplains: (*Thomæ Cantuarensi Archiepiscopo Henricus Clericus.*) "According to your Lordship's instructions, I laid your memorial before the Pope with the utmost secrecy, at a time when none of the Cardinals were present, except Lord Manfred. Afterwards, however, in their private houses, I showed it to Cardinals Hyacinth and Otho, and to their Lordships of Portus and Ostia, with whom the Pope is in communication, respecting all that concerns your Lordship.

Some hope of a reconciliation too with Henry, was still entertained by some of his friends. These seem to have been the chief subjects of speculation

“On the other matters, about which your Lordship is anxious to hear, I am not yet able to send you definite information. You are not to suppose from this, that our Lord the Pope, or your friends among the Cardinals, have shown any wish to recede from what they have promised; they are really zealous, and the Pope will do even more than he said. But the fact is, it was a very delicate matter to circumvent his Lordship of Portus. I myself was engaged in this fifteen days, and I so far succeeded, that without seeming to solicit, I prevailed on him to be the especial patron of your cause before the Pope, at Clermont. His Lordship the Pope too, with a view to stimulate him and others still farther, and to commit them to a strong part, assumed at first a cold and unyielding manner, and threw difficulties in the way of their proposals.

“This has caused the delay in our proceedings, but I hope we shall by and by find the advantage of it. His Lordship of Ostia is especially pleased at the Pope’s thoughtful manner of proceeding. As soon as ever the business is settled, I will take care to forward you the documents.

“Moreover it is the advice of his Lordship the Pope, that if the King of France makes a serious offer to support your Lordship at his own expense, you may accept from him, not merely your bread and wine, but also your meat. From the three Earls*, he thinks it more prudent to receive nothing publicly: from the Earl of Flanders you may accept whatever he offers, but not unless he really presses you, lest his zeal should tire itself. Not indeed that his Lordship the Pope entertains any fear of this, as he confides in the Earl’s generosity and goodness of heart, and hopes great things from his interceding for your Lordship with the King.”

* Henry, Earl of Troyes; Robert, Earl of Dreux; and perhaps, William, Earl of Nevers.

at present; and the two following letters are mainly upon them.

JOHN OF SALISBURY, TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY¹. AFTER JAN. 25.

“ A few days since, I had an interview with the Pope, in which I took pains to set before him what seemed to me to open a way for peace to himself and us. He answered, that he too had conceived hopes of this, from certain words of the Emperor’s, which had been communicated to the Abbot of St. Mary’s; i. e. that the King of England would willingly consent to terms, if the Pope would mediate between himself and the King of France. His Holiness evidently inclined to the proposal, and the King of France did not hold back, so an interview was expected; and the King of France had been already invited to spend the Feast of Purification at Sens. I took my leave, and hastened to Paris, where I had an interview with the King.

“ He still sympathizes with your Lordship and your fellow-exiles, and reprobates the harshness of his Lordship our King. Yet he seemed to me to speak with less warmth than usual. On my continuing to press him, he owned to me that, though he loved your Lordship and approved your cause, yet under all circumstances, he could not take on himself the responsibility of pressing strong measures on the Pope, and thus perhaps alienating our King from the Church of Rome.

“ He dwelt so much on this head, that on going over everything in my mind, I cannot anticipate much advantage from an interview in which our King is to meet the Pope in person. He will state much that is plausible, in his own favour, and against your Lordship; he will be

¹ Ep. i. 31.

liberal too in his threats and in his promises; and the Court is too accessible to such influence. Besides, the High Steward of the King of France supports his cause; and, what is worse, Earl Robert, whose wife, a relation of my Abbot¹, sends many presents to England, and among them lately, three hundred ells of Rheims linen, to make shirts: she is a prudent lady; and entertains hopes that, besides the presents she and her husband receive in return, she shall get the King to provide for some of her many children, by marrying them to English Nobles. The Archbishop of Rheims too loves Earl Robert and his family dearly. So that I fear when it comes to the point, fortune will easily shake off such friends as these².....And yet I have just now heard that the King of France has been urgent with the Pope on your Lordship's behalf, and has expressed his thanks to the convent of Pontigni. I hear too that your Lordship has written to the Archbishop of Rheims, to ask that he will allow your goods to be brought through Flanders in his name, as if for himself. If this is so, I am surprised. It is said too, that Hugh, the Monk of St. Benedict's, is returned from England, and certain others, on an embassy from our King to the Pope and the King of France; what news they bring I am yet ignorant. It is said too, that there has lately been an earthquake in England³, near Canterbury, and London, and Winchester; but I doubt the truth of this. They say too, that the Bishops, in whose Dioceses there are churches belonging to your Lordship, claim jurisdiction over them, and that the Clergy are too much frightened to resist. Yet I can hardly think this, except that I sup-

¹ Peter, Abbot of St. Remy.

² A passage is omitted here, which was given in the first Chapter, p. 3.

³ January 25th, 1165.

pose they would gladly avail themselves of some excuse for underhand interference, which they may at some future time appeal to as an act of ownership. For, as I hear, it was while the see of Canterbury was vacant, that Sefrid, Bishop of Chichester, exercised authority over those churches for which his successor now contends. But though I scarcely think this possible, still I recommend your Lordship to protect yourself against the chance of it, by procuring letters patent from the Pope, declaring that such acts shall not be construed into a precedent.

“But your Lordship knows better than I can do what is going on in England. May I entreat you to send me word, by the bearer of these, how your Lordship fares, and what is going on at the Court, and whether the Abbot is yet returned, who was sent to England by the Pope.

“Farewell, my Lord, and call to mind the zeal of your predecessor, which he retained up to the very day of his death. My best wishes to all your friends. My Abbot salutes you, and so does the Bishop of Châlons; to whom I spoke lately about receiving one of your Clerics. He acquiesces readily, but hopes you will send him some creditable person; yet he will take in whomsoever you will send. When you send him, do instil into him the necessity of a modest deportment, for the men of this country are modest.”

THE BISHOP OF POITIERS, TO THE ARCHBISHOP
OF CANTERBURY¹.

“We have just received your Lordship’s last letters, which were brought by F. Simon, and great comfort we have derived from them. They were a set-off against other news which had just been brought us of a less pleasing kind. The place too where we received them

¹ Ep. i. 35.

was lucky ; i. e. at Le Mans, and in the presence of my Lord the Bishop¹. For that Catholic man, sympathizing as he does in the distresses of the Church, was comforted by them under the affliction our late information had caused him. We may fairly hope that, if what is now stated be true, the Emperor will have too much on his hands to leave him time for tyrannizing over the Church. It surprised us however, that your Lordship should have said nothing of what passed in the conference the King of France held at Auxerre on the Octave of the Apostles.

“ It seems advisable that your Lordship should accept the liberal offer the said King and Earl Henry are said to have made you. It will make your exile more endurable ; and the King will probably feel less scruple in confiding his secret counsels to you, if he hopes to keep you under obligation to him.

“ What he would wish most, would be to provide for you out of the revenues of some vacant Bishopric or

¹ “ The Archbishop, when Chancellor, had been of some service to the Bishop of Le Mans. The latter had given the King great offence, by accepting Alexander III. as Pope, without permission. On this ‘ *Rex facit Breves scribi ut domus ejus Cenomanni diruantur.*’ These Breves he signed, and then held up his hand, saying aloud, ‘ *equidem Cenomannes audient de Episcopo suo rumorem.*’ On this the Chancellor, ‘ *intelligens Regem in tantâ irâ frustra compellandum,*’ gave orders to the Couriers to be four days on the road, though the ordinary rate of travelling would have brought them to Le Mans in two. The next day and the day after, he set the Bishops and others to importune the King, and the third day he joined them himself ; and then the King, ‘ *instantia compulsus,*’ acquiesced ‘ *putans quod domus Episcopi ex magnâ parte corruisset.*’ The Chancellor got him to sign letters to that effect, and sent them off by a private messenger, who rode night and day, and arrived just after the King’s Couriers, in time to save the palace. Fitz-Stephen, in vit. p. 19.

Archbishopric, and thus to preserve his own funds unimpaired.

“It will be necessary for your Lordship, as far as one can judge from the present aspect of your affairs, to husband your resources in every possible way, to let your enemies see that you are prepared for any sufferings your exile may reduce you to. For this reason I have often warned your discretion, and must still anxiously press you, to get rid of your superfluous incumbrances, and to consider the badness of the times, which promises you neither a speedy return nor an easy one. Your wisdom ought to know that no one will think the less of you, if in conformity to your circumstances, and in condescension to the Religious House¹ that entertains you, you content yourself with a moderate establishment of horses and men, such as your necessities require.

“Your Lordship should know that you have nothing to expect from the Queen, neither advice nor support, for she trusts her whole counsels to Raoul de Faye, who perse-

¹ The monastery of Pontigni, of the Cistercian Order.

It is situated in a broad and fertile valley, about thirteen miles from Auxerre, on the road to Troyes. The Chapel, which in size and grandeur is more like a Cathedral, has survived the revolution, and appears to have undergone little alteration since the early part of the twelfth century. Probably it is in exactly the same state as when St. Thomas of Canterbury resided there.

Of the other buildings little remains, except the cellars and the refectory over them, which appear to be of the same date with the Chapel. The former is still dedicated to its original use, the latter has been converted into a barn or hay-loft.

The precincts of the monastery, in their present forlorn condition, bear testimony to the luxurious refinement which its latest tenants had engrafted on the once austere Cistercian system.

The place is well worth visiting, especially to the antiquary desirous to inquire into the origin of the Gothic architecture.

cutes you as bitterly as ever. Circumstances come to light too every day, which lead one to think that the infamous story I mentioned to you is not far from truth.

“ Among the rumours which are brought from England by those who come from the King to the Queen, and boast great things of their own party, one is, that the King has a second time engaged the Welsh; nay, as they boast, has assailed them, and with small loss to himself, has slain an immense multitude.

“ We send you a copy of the letter the King has sent his mother. You will also receive by the bearer of these, a writing directed to you by M. Hugo, Cleric to Richard of Ilchester.

“ Of what took place in the conference of Shrewsbury we know nothing, except that the King mocked the Bishops whom he had summoned there, and dismissed them at once, retaining their attendants with him.

“ If anything comes to our knowledge that seems likely to interest you, we shall take care to send word. Will your Lordship condescend to do the same for us. Farewell.”

Not long after the banishment of the Archbishop's party, Henry opened a negotiation with the Schismatical Court of Frederic Barbarossa, either with the real intention of placing England under the Antipope, or at any rate to terrify Alexander at the prospect of such an event; and thus to extort from him terms to which he would not otherwise consent. This, among other matters, is alluded to in the following letter of the Pope to the Bishop of London.

“ Alexander Episcopus, Servus Servorum Dei, Venerabili Fratri Gileberto, Londoniensi Episcopo, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem¹.

“ It will not have escaped your memory, that our beloved Son in Christ, Henry, the illustrious King of England, requested of us formerly, with much earnestness, to permit your translation from the See of Hereford, which you then occupied, to that of London. And, moreover, that to secure our assent, he dwelt on the advantages likely to result from your promotion, alleging that London was the seat of the Government, and that he wished above all things to have you near his person, for the benefit of your counsels, as well in temporal matters as in those that concerned his soul’s welfare. We, therefore, looking to the interests of the King and Nation, and above all, of God’s holy Church, readily consented to your promotion. A time has now arrived, when we expect to reap the benefits we then proposed to ourselves, and to experience the reality of the hopes which were then held out to us.

“ Doubtless you are not ignorant, that the aforesaid King has fallen off from that affection which he once entertained towards the Church; and that of late, in many particulars, (as for instance, in prohibiting appeals; in communicating with schismatics, and persons even excommunicated by name; in forming alliances with them; lastly, in driving from his Kingdom, our venerable brother, Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury) he has even appeared to persecute it. For these reasons, we ask, order, and command your services, in conjunction with those of our venerable brother the Bishop of Hereford, in order to warn the said King, and diligently exhort him to desist henceforwards from these evil practices, and to make satisfaction for what he has already done amiss; to love his Creator

¹ Ep. i. 37.

with a pure heart ; to respect, as he was wont, his Holy Mother, the Roman Church ; to withdraw his prohibition on all visits and appeals to it ; to recall and reinstate our brother aforesaid, the Archbishop, in his Diocese ; to stand fast in his reverence towards the Blessed St. Peter and ourself ; to attend on works of piety and religion ; no longer to oppress, as he is said to do, or permit others to oppress, the Churches and Clergy of his Kingdom or his other territories¹ ; but to love, maintain, and by his royal protection support them ; that by these means, he may obtain from Him by whom Kings reign, both a continuance of his temporal kingdom here, and the gift of an eternal one hereafter.

“ Furthermore, although we ourself, in consideration of his former devotion, and his service shown to us in time of need, still love him with abundant charity, as a noble Prince and most renowned King, and still labour for the advancement of his glory (though he himself seems to think otherwise of us) with a fervent zeal ; nevertheless, it is fit you should recall to his mind, that unless he repents of his evil deeds, and that speedily, God will most surely visit him with heavy vengeance, and the time must at last come when our patience can no longer endure.

“ These things we desire to lay before him, not for our own good, but for his safety, in return for those many and signal services which he has before now rendered to us as a most Christian King. His greatness is our delight ; his welfare, and that of his kingdom, is the object of our most earnest wish.

“ Lastly, our confidence in your prudence and attachment, induces us to commit to you certain matters of importance. Hereby, therefore, we authorise you to make a faithful collection of Peter's pence throughout all England

¹ Aquitain, Normandy, &c.

for the current year, and to transmit the amount to us as soon as possible. We request, moreover, that before the aforesaid collection has been completed, you will furnish us with such a supply of money, as your own resources or your credit can procure, and transmit it before the ensuing first of August. You may repay the loan out of the collection. By so doing you will confer on us as great a favour, as if you handed over the whole sum as a present."

Clermont, July 10.

This Letter produced the following answer from the Bishop :—

"Patri suo et Domino, summo Pontifici Alexandro, Frater Gilebertus Londoniensis Ecclesiæ Minister, debitum sinceræ caritatis et humilis obedientiæ famulatum¹.

"Beloved Father in Christ, we have, as in duty bound, laid the commands of your Holiness before the famous and well-beloved Prince, the King of England, who is now with his army on the borders of Wales. In conjunction with our venerable brother, Robert, Bishop of Hereford, we presented our instructions to his Majesty, and, both with entreaty and such arguments as we could venture on using, exhorted him to a speedy compliance.

"We pressed him to regard the warnings of his Father, and if in any thing he had done amiss, to return at once to the way of righteousness ; to love God with a pure heart, to honour the Holy Catholic Church, and not to interfere with its jurisdiction ; above all, to recall and reinstate our Father, the Lord Archbishop ; to protect our churches and their ministers, and to persevere in his allegiance to the Holy Apostolic See. Moreover, we warned him that, should he persist in disobedience, there was a point beyond which the patience of your Holiness could not en-

¹ Ep. i. 38.

ture, and reminded him of the retribution he might expect from that God who had exalted him, and could also cast him down.

“ His Majesty, in return, expressed his thanks for your Holiness’s admonitions, and replied to each of them with the greatest moderation. He said that his allegiance to your Holiness remained unshaken, that the very idea of disregarding it had not so much as entered his mind, nor would he in the slightest thing oppose your Holiness’s wishes, where he could comply with them without compromising his prerogative. That of late, if he had been in any respects wanting in reverence, some excuse was to be found for him in the repulses he had met with, which was scarcely a requital for his past services. Yet that he still relied on your Holiness’s goodness, in the hope of receiving less harsh treatment at your hands. That he had no wish to interfere with appeals to your Holiness’s Court; but merely claimed to himself the right in civil causes of hearing the case first, according to the ancient usage of the country: should his decision prove unjust, he would place no farther obstacle in the way of an appeal. Moreover, should this claim prove in any way prejudicial to the interests of the Church, he pledged himself to submit it to the judgment of the next general British Council. As to the intercourse he had held with the Emperor, he protested that, up to that moment, he did not know of his excommunication; and, with regard to the flight of our Father, the Lord Archbishop, he assures your Holiness that it was not ordered by him; that his Lordship’s absence is purely voluntary, and that no one will interfere with his returning whenever he is so minded: only that he will have to answer certain complaints lodged against him respecting a breach of the royal privileges, which he is sworn to uphold. That in any instance where a church

or churchman may be supposed to have received injury at his hands, he will cheerfully abide the judgment of his assembled Clergy.

“ Such was his Majesty’s reply, which we forward to your Holiness as it was delivered to us. At the same time, we venture to submit to your Holiness, that, though we could have wished it in some respects different, still, in main points, it seems to vindicate his Majesty’s conduct ; and that, at the present crisis, it might perhaps be hazardous to require a fuller submission. It is written, ‘ A bruised reed shall He not break, and smoking flax shall He not quench ;’ and it may be questioned how far it is desirable to risk the alienation of a great King and nation by an ill-timed, though just, exercise of severity.

“ A wounded limb may recover as long as it is united with the body ; when cut off, its situation is desperate. May your Holiness be pleased to try the milder course with us, in our present state of unparalleled distraction. Soon, perhaps, a more favourable opportunity may present itself, and your Holiness’s commands may take a fuller effect. Just at present, it may be expedient to make some sacrifices with a view to permanent advantages by and by. Even supposing things to end in the continued exile of our Lord of Canterbury, and a temporary disaffection of England, still, were it not better to forbear for a time, than to have recourse at once to the desperate step ? For, although most of us, it is to be hoped, are proof against persecution, still there will be found many to bow the knee before Baal ; the pall of Canterbury may be sought from the hands of the intruder, and there would be no want of underlings to occupy our Churches.

“ The possibility of such an event is even now openly talked of ; and thus the dangers which impend over us

concern no longer ourselves alone, but the whole Catholic Church.

“ In the matter of the Pope’s pence, no one through the whole kingdom would have paid the slightest attention to us, unless the King had backed our applications with his royal mandate. As it is, the money will be collected by the usual time, and, by the help of God, forwarded to your Holiness by our hands.”

The Pope replied again to this letter¹, expressed himself satisfied with the diligence of the Bishops, and hoped that, as soon as the collection of Peter’s pence was finished, it would be forwarded to him by the Abbot of St. Bertins. He wrote this August 21st, dating his letter *in Gradu Mercurii*. His affairs in Italy now wore a rather more promising appearance, and he was hastening to Rome to encourage the zeal of his supporters ; but money was still necessary for him ; indeed more necessary than ever. And he could not yet risk the loss of Peter’s pence, by taking up Becket’s cause in the way he wished.

In the meantime Becket received the following letter from John of Salisbury.

JOHN OF SALISBURY TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY².

“ From the bearer of these, and from the letters my friends have sent me from England, your Lordship will perceive what is the state of the Church in that kingdom. I also send you the letters which the Bishop of Baieux sent me, by the messenger I had despatched to learn the state of my brother and of my affairs. The King had

¹ Ep. i. 41.

² Ep. i. 33.

committed to him my revenues in the Diocese of Salisbury. What I had in other Churches is made over partly to the Bishop of London, partly to others, who are all so active that neither I nor my brother, nor any one in our name can obtain a farthing. I hear, too, from those who have been in our parts, that my property is quite dilapidated, and that neither the churches nor the houses receive any repairs. I have written on this subject to the Bishops of London, Hereford, Worcester and Chichester, and to the Archdeacon of Poitiers. Chichester complains that he has lost the King's favour, and adds, "*Solus Londoniensis censetur nomine suo!*" None of the others have answered. Yet I expect that, on the return of my messenger, they will favour their old friend at least with a verbal reply.

"From Kent I have heard nothing. After my servant returned from your Lordship, I heard that the King of Scotland had written to you that he had obtained terms for you from the King. But I could not believe it, in the first place, because I hear that the King of Scotland has had no interview with ours, and secondly because a matter, which has been taken up with such asperity, could not without a miracle be settled through letters. It is said, too, that the Earl of Flanders, at the joint request of the Empress and the Queen, has sent great men to the King to treat of peace for you, and that they have returned; but what answer they bring I am not informed. I hear, too, that some of your Lordship's domestics have returned to you from the Welsh expedition.

"For these reasons I wish much to hear from you, both about the messenger the King of Scotland has sent you, and the messengers despatched to the King from the Earl of Flanders, and what you have heard of his Lordship the King, and of the Welsh, and if any thing has come to your knowledge respecting our Lord the Pope, since he

left Montpellier. I am anxious to hear of his welfare, especially as most of those I live with augur ill concerning him. They say that people of Pisa and Genoa, and also of Arles, have put to sea, by command of the German tyrant, to way-lay him and exercise piracy; and that, without a passport from these, no vessel is safe in that sea. They say, too, that he wants to intrude into the see of Mayence that Antichristian Apostate¹ of his, who has taken the place of Reginald in the office of Chancellor, in persecuting the Church, in sowing dissension among nations, and overturning cities. He is said to have earned this promotion by subjecting to the Germans all Tuscany and Campania, so that the Romans have actually nothing beyond their walls, neither fields, nor olive grounds, nor vineyards: and the citizens, as it is said, shut in and reduced to hunger, have been obliged to pay high and entreat long for a truce till the Festival of St. Michael. Unless his Lordship the Pope arrives in the meantime, and relieves them, they will acknowledge Guido of Crema, and swear allegiance to the Germans. To tell out the story, the people assert that certain German prophetesses have uttered I know not what oracles, that have inflamed the German pride, and give courage to the schismatics. But, truly, God is able to crush the power of Moab, though he exalt himself greatly; and his arrogance is more than his courage.

“Wherefore, in all this sea of troubles, I see no safety but in committing ourselves to the clemency of Christ, who, though He be again crucified, yet is not slain; and who, in exacting vengeance for the Holy Dove, will prepare for His crucifiers a more bitter crucifixion. Even now He crucifies them in part, calling forth against them both

¹ Christian, a famous warrior, who was a principal means of subjecting Italy to the Emperor in 1163.

the pestilence and the sword, and those other angels of His by whom mighty men are mightily tormented.

“ Let us but secure the favour of those guardians of the Church of Canterbury whose memory ought ever to be before us, and, by God’s grace, this storm will yet blow over us. Nor do I doubt that they are now propitious to us, if we but place our hearts upon our ways, and so exercise ourselves in God’s laws as not to be hearers only, but doers of them. Farewell.”

The Pope’s correspondence with the Bishop of London had hitherto been of the most complimentary kind ; he had expressed the most complete satisfaction at Henry’s professions ; and his allusions to the money, due to himself under the head Peter’s pence, had been accompanied with the fullest expressions of trust and confidence. The following letters written about the end of 1165, or early in 1166, threaten to assume a more authoritative tone.

THE POPE, TO GILBERT, BISHOP OF LONDON¹.

“ Although yourself and your brother Bishops have of late, in many parts of your conduct appeared remiss, lukewarm, and negligent ; yet as we know you for a man of learning and integrity, as well as more than ordinary abstinence, we have selected you as the fittest subject for our Apostolical remonstrance.

“ Hereby, then, we warn and charge you to choose an early opportunity, such as your intimacy with his Majesty the King of England will doubtless afford you, of laying before his Majesty the heinous nature of his conduct. You are to bid him discontinue the practice in which he

¹ Ep. i. 67.

has hitherto persisted, of confusing secular and ecclesiastical causes ; so that the affairs of the Church may henceforth be arranged by churchmen, and that none but matters strictly civil be brought before his Majesty's Judges. Moreover, his Majesty is forthwith to receive our venerable Brother, the Archbishop of Canterbury, with the honour due to his station, and to reinstate him, together with his fellow-exiles, in their former rights and possessions, making good all the arrears which have accumulated during their absence. These things you are to intimate to his Majesty on the earliest befitting occasion.

“Moreover, you yourself are to render to the see of Canterbury that submission which is due from you to Christ, inasmuch as the things of Cæsar are due to Cæsar, and the things of God to God.

“We in the mean time, until we shall have reason to think otherwise of you, will preserve towards you the regard due to your station in the Church, your monastic character, and your reputation for learning and integrity.”

THE POPE, TO GILBERT, BISHOP OF LONDON¹.

“Statements are frequently made to us respecting you which consist ill with your monastic character and exterior deportment, and which, if substantiated, must shake our confidence in the sincerity of your professions.

“It is not gratitude, nor love, nor fear, that will justify you in the neglect of your sacred functions, and in abandoning the cause of the Church. Rather ought you to stand forth with manly constancy as its firmest pillar, fearing God, and not man. Remember, that when wicked men oppress the Church, the truest love would lead you, not merely to protest against them, but to raise your voice unceasingly, as it were a trumpet, always remembering

¹ Ep. i. 74.

the prophet's words, '*Nisi annuntiaveritis iniquo iniquitatem suam, sanguinem ejus de manu tuo requiram.*' Wherefore, if you are conscious of the misconduct charged upon you, study forthwith to amend it, and so deport yourself henceforward as to prevent the recurrence of similar complaints. Should you fail to comply with this advice, we shall feel it our painful duty to throw off farther reserve, and let our indignation take its course in the severest form.

* * * * *

"Furthermore, we wish your discretion to take notice, that we hereby authorise and command you to pay over to the Abbot of St. Bertins the full amount of Peter's pence, which is at present due to us in England. Your discretion should be aware of information we have received from our brother, the venerable Bartholomew, Bishop of Exeter, who tells us that the tax has been generally raised on a defective valuation, but that his Diocese has paid in full, and that the sum is now in your hands. We marvel greatly that it has not been forwarded. We wish you, moreover, to make good the deficiency of the former remittances, and on the present occasion to enforce full payment."

These letters are the prelude to more rigorous measures than the Pope had hitherto thought fit to adopt; but it does not appear that they resulted from any systematic intention to uphold the English Church. On the contrary, they refer principally to the private interests of the Court of Rome, which, just at present, were not likely to be advanced by a temporizing policy. Just about the time of the Pope's return to Rome, it became evident that the neutral course he had hitherto pursued was as of-

fensive to those he wished to conciliate, as the most rigorous opposition could be ; and that unless he could resolve on going all lengths with Henry, he must make up his mind to feel all the power of England directed against himself. It was necessary he should act one way or the other ; either make Henry his friend by sanctioning the projected union between Church and State, and by deposing the recusant Archbishop ; or do all in his power to weaken him as an enemy.

However, circumstances with which we are not acquainted, induced Alexander still to proceed for a time with caution in his new line of conduct ; as appears from the following letter.

THE POPE TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY¹.

“ Since the days are evil, and since it is necessary to endure much in consideration of our circumstances, we request of your wisdom, and advise, and counsel, and entreat of you, that in your whole conduct respecting your own cause and that of the Church, you act with caution, prudence, and circumspection, doing nothing in haste, but all things with gravity and deliberation ; and that in all possible ways, consistent with the liberties of the Church and the dignity of your office, you will labour to conciliate his Majesty the King of England.

“ Till the ensuing Easter², you must so far endure the excesses of the said King, as to forbear all proceedings either against his person or territory. After that time God will vouchsafe better times to us ; and you, as well as ourself, may adopt more rigorous measures with safety.”

¹ Ep. i. 43.

² April 24, 1166.

Meanwhile a kind attempt was being made by the King of France and his Court, to obtain a recall for some of the Archbishop's fellow-exiles; partially, perhaps, with a view to a more entire reconciliation between the two sides. The following is Fitz-Stephen's account of the affair.

“The King of France, with his Earls and great men, made interest with the King of England, in behalf of the more eminent among the Archbishop's Clerics, who still continued with him, to allow them at any rate to have their revenues back again. ‘Was it a thing to be surprised at,’ they said, ‘that a regard for their own promotion kept these Clerics in the Archbishop's service? And what had the Clerics to do with this business between the King and the Archbishop, that they should be punished because those two were pleased to quarrel.’ The King of England agreed that the Clerics should come and present themselves to him, promising them a safe journey, stay, and return. So on the Sunday after Easter they came to Angers, where the King had been keeping festival. On a particular day he sat, with the officers of the Court about him, and gave audience to the Clerics. John of Salisbury appeared first, and, after saluting the King, requested peace of him, and the restitution of his Ecclesiastical benefices; saying that he had

¹ [The Author is not responsible for what is printed henceforth in the larger type, with a view of connecting the letters, except where it is noticed.]

done nothing that he knew of, to merit the King's displeasure; and that he was ready to pay all devotion, submission, and loyalty to the King, as his earthly Lord, saving his order. On the King's part it was answered, that having been born and bred in his dominions, and having all his relations living there, and having enjoyed the good things of the Kingdom, and risen to situations in it of profit and dignity, he ought, as a true-born subject, to be loyal to the King, against the Archbishop and all men whatsoever. And then an oath was tendered, in which he had to swear that he would be loyal to the King, life and limb, and maintain the honour of his Majesty against all men; and specially, that he would lawfully observe the written Usages, and the Royal dignities. He, in reply, was willing to concede the other things, but refused to give up his connexion with the Archbishop, saying, that having from his youth up been supported by the bounty of the Church of Canterbury, he could not desert either that Church, or his Lord, the Archbishop; and that there were some of the Usages that he could not possibly promise to observe, against the wishes of the Pope and the Church; but that following his Lord the Pope, and the Archbishop, he would admit what they admitted, and reject what they rejected. This did not satisfy the King; and he was ordered to withdraw.¹

¹ [The rest of this extract is translated by the Author.]

“M. Herbert de Boscham¹ was called for and entered. The King said to those near him, ‘Now we shall see a specimen of pride.’ Tall and striking as was his person, he had on a dress peculiarly calculated to set it off; a tunic, and above it a mantle of the green cloth of Auxerre hung over his shoulders, reaching, after the German fashion, to his ancles. After the usual salutation he took his seat; was interrogated in the same manner with John,

¹ [An intimate friend of Becket’s; by birth a Lombard, and a native of Placentia. He has appeared slightly on one occasion already. The Archbishop had made choice of him, after his elevation, to assist him in his theological reading; according to Herbert’s own account, given in the *Quadrilogue*. “After the early service,” the latter writes, “he took a little sleep; and then, before any of the rest were up, he would set to reading the sacred volume, with only one of his train by him, to assist him in unfolding its mysteries. He used to confess that the Scriptures were so deep and obscure in many places, that he was always afraid of falling into error, unless there was some one to direct him. And therefore, while on plain passages he would trust to what his own understanding told him, in the examination of difficulties he always took me for his guide. Yes; he who had been so distinguished for deeds of prowess, and who, both as Archbishop, and in other respects, had risen to the very summit of excellence, yet trod the path of the Scriptures with this humble simplicity; never outstepping his instructor, or presuming at all upon himself. Often in our journeys would he turn his horse out of the main road, and calling the same attendant to his side, discuss theological subjects while travelling; every now and then repeating, ‘How I wish I could retire a little from secular business, and pursue these subjects quietly and at my leisure.’” *Quadril.* p. 19.]

Herbert seems to have had a high reputation among his contemporaries; both on account of his general attainments, and particularly his knowledge of the Canon law. He was afterwards made a Cardinal, and finally promoted to the Archbishopric of Beneventum. (*Quadril.* p. 157.)]

and made for the most part the same answers. On mention of loyalty, and the Archbishop, he said that the Archbishop above all men was most especially loyal, for that he had not suffered his Majesty to go astray unwarned. Of the Usages he said as John had, and added, that he wondered the King had put them in writing. ‘For’, said he, ‘in other kingdoms likewise there are evil Usages against the Church; but they are not written, and for this reason there is hope, by God’s grace, that they may become disused.’ The King wishing to take him in his words, asked, ‘And what are the ill Usages in the kingdom of our Lord the King of France?’

“*Herbert.* ‘The exactions of thole and passage¹ from Clergy and strangers. Again, when a Bishop dies, all his moveable goods, even the doors and windows of his house, become the King’s. Again, these and similar ill Usages, though they exist, are still not written in the Realm of the King of Germany.’

“*The King.* ‘Call him by his proper title, the Emperor of Germany.’

“*Herbert.* ‘His title is King of Germany, and when he styles himself Emperor, it is Emperor of the Romans, semper Augustus.’

“*The King.* ‘This is abominable. Is this son of a Priest to disturb my kingdom and disquiet my peace?’

¹ [Thelonium et Passagium; certain tolls, levied at seaports upon the persons and goods of passengers.]

“*Herbert*. ‘It is not I that do it; nor, again, am I the son of a Priest, as I was born before my father entered orders; nor is he a King’s son, whose father was no King when he begat him.’

“Here Jordan de Tarsun, one of the Barons sitting by, said to his neighbour, ‘Whosoever son he is, I would give half my Barony he were mine.’

“The King was angry and said nothing; Herbert was dismissed and withdrew¹.”

Nothing further came of this conference, and the result of it seems to have been, on the whole, rather to hinder than promote a reconciliation, as it brought out the strong determination of each party to abide by their original intentions. The design, however, was not dropped all at once, but continued to be followed up by John of Salisbury and the Bishop of Poitiers; and in the event, the latter did establish a kind of peace with Henry; which, though there seem to have been peculiar circumstances connected with his Church, which made the defence of it more difficult, than maintaining the same side in England, was yet barely approved of by John of Salisbury, and was hardly consistent with the bold stand taken by the Bishop at the outset of the contest. The affair, however, did not lead to any coolness on the Archbishop’s part; not permanently at least, as the subsequent history will show.

The design just mentioned, as still entertained by John of Salisbury and the Bishop, is the chief subject of the following letters.

¹ Fitz-Stephen, p. 59 and the Seq.

JOHN OF SALISBURY, TO RAIMOND, CHANCELLOR OF
POITIERS¹.

“ I have attended to your instructions, and sought out a messenger who is not at all known in your part of the country, and in whom we place unlimited confidence. He has orders to proceed with my Lord Bishop about recovering the books of M. Walter, a Chaplain of his Lordship of Rheims, who had left them in trust with M.....If you remember, I spoke to you about them at Angers, and gave you a letter comminatory. You may treat him as a serf of the Archbishop of Rheims, and just as circumstances require; only for my sake do send him back quickly with something definite about your Bishop's health, and how he stands with the King, and whether any thing has been done to procure my pardon, &c.....

“ As to my pardon, I do not want to go myself to Court about it any more without some fair hope of succeeding. The straitness of my circumstances, and my occupation as a teacher, which is my subsistence and amusement, at once preclude expence and absence. Just now, too, my means are less than usual, and not so my incumbrances. My resources, small as they were at first, are daily falling off. On my way to Angers, and in attending the interviews of the King last Easter, I spent £13. and lost two horses, to say nothing of the other annoyances and weariness of Court proceedings. And, what is worse than all, all went for nothing.

“ For myself, I am much the same as when I wrote last; you will hear most that I could tell you from the bearer. I do not yet despair of the success of his Lordship of Canterbury: for he himself has hope in the Lord,

¹ Ep. i. 169. [Joan. Saresb. 183.]

penancing himself for the deeds he did as a courtier; nor, as I think, does he make flesh his arm. Yet I suppose that God delays to interfere for him, because he is not yet left quite destitute by man. M. Gerard invites me to Cologne, but, Jesus willing, no gain shall tempt me to cast my lot with Schismatics; not that I think Gerard a Schismatic either, as you will see from his letters, a copy of which, names suppressed, I enclose to my Lord Bishop. I am in a hard case here altogether, and yet, though I dwell among the Duricordes, I could do well enough myself if it was not for my friends. My gains as a teacher are enough for my own support, but there are a great many that I have to supply besides. Perhaps you don't remember, but this district of the Belgic Province is called in old histories Duricordium; I am sure in my own case I have found it Mollicordium, as every one else will find on becoming intimate with the Archbishop and his friends. It is my own nation and my old friends that seem to me to be the real Duricordes. I am going to say what you perhaps will not believe; it is a fact nevertheless: the son of M. Geoffrey was my companion in exile eight months, and my messenger, on his return from the Bishop of Norwich and the Abbot of St. Edmund's, called on him, but he would not write to me even a line. Yet God knows from the first I have avoided asking favours of any of them, and am at least lucky in this, that since my proscription I have escaped the shame of a refusal.

“And now I have said all I need, yet I should write for ever unless my modesty and the engagements from which I have snatched time enough for this, constrained me to say Vale.”

JOHN OF SALISBURY, TO BARTHOLOMEW, BISHOP OF
EXETER¹.

“ Since his Lordship the Pope left France nothing has happened worth relating to you, nor have I heard any thing for certain about the Emperor ; so I abstain from noticing the vague reports prevalent among us, and go to my own matters at once.

“ I told you before that the Archdeacon of Poitiers had promised to do what he could to obtain my pardon, but I have not heard how far he has succeeded. Now I have made fresh solicitations through the Bishop of Llandaff, who is said to stand highest in the King's favour ; the bearer will give you particulars. If any thing should ever be said on the subject in your Lordship's presence, I entreat you to give me assistance in any way you can without compromising my honour and loyalty,—rather than consent to this, I would remain an exile for ever. If they call on me to renounce my Archbishop, which none of his people have yet done, nor indeed any one in all England, God forbid that I should acquiesce in either first or last.

“ It is true I have preserved my allegiance to my high-

¹ Ep. Joan. Saresb. 150. Bartholomew seems to have been one of the oldest and most intimate friends of John of Salisbury : they had been brought up together under Theobald, the late Archbishop of Canterbury. Bartholomew was promoted from thence to the Archdeaconry of Exeter ; and on the death of Warelwast, was recommended by Theobald to succeed him in the Bishopric. At that time Becket was Chancellor, and John of Salisbury was employed to solicit his voice for the promotion of Bartholomew, which was accordingly effected. [Though thus connected with John of Salisbury and the Archbishop, the Bishop of Exeter stood almost neutral with respect to the present contest ; inclining privately to the Church side, but afraid of offending Henry, and reluctant to see matters brought to an extremity.]

mind ed Archbishop ; but then neither have I forfeited my allegiance to the King. If I have ever acted against his Majesty in a way which I cannot justify, I am ready to make amends at his good pleasure. God knows, He who sees the heart and judges of words and deeds, how often and how sharply I have rebuked his Lordship the Archbishop, whenever his zeal has led him to irritate the King unnecessarily by ill-timed resistance. Nor do I doubt that some day or other by God's goodness my just conduct will be repaid to me,—sure I am that this exile has been of the greatest service to my Lord of Canterbury, both in regard to his literary attainments, and the tone of his mind. I hope too that it has not been altogether lost upon myself, and that I am more resigned than I was to God's providence.

“ I cannot promise you to withdraw myself altogether from attendance on his Lordship of Canterbury ; but I can say sincerely that I mean to follow your advice in keeping clear of the Court. If God is pleased to open a way for my return, have the goodness to write, and tell me if I shall bring my baggage and provisions. Should this be so, I shall want more horses and other things that I now do without.”

¹JOHN OF SALISBURY, TO M. HUMFREY².

“ I am very anxious for your advice in my present difficulties, and hope you will write me word by the messenger

¹ Ep. i. 88. Ep. Joan. Saresb. 157.

² The name M. Humfrey is given in Ep. Joan. Saresb. but not in Ep. D. T. His surname would seem to have been Bohun : vide Ep. D. T. ii. 91. which is addressed to M. Humfrey Bon, [Bohun] and alludes to his friendship with the Bishop of Baieux. The name Humfrey de Boun is one of those by which the enactment of the Usages is attested. Ep. D. T. i. 12.

I have sent to my Lord of Baieux¹, what course you think most expedient for me, always saving my honour, without which I think nothing expedient.

“To give you full materials for judging, the following is my case:—I have preserved my fidelity to the Church of Canterbury, and to the Archbishop; and wherever justice and moderation have seemed on his side, I have stood by him both in England and abroad; but, as often as I have thought he exceeded the limits of either, I have withstood him to the face. Of this God is my witness, and conscience, and the friends and companions among whom I have lived. Nor have I intentionally done any thing against the honour of the King, or his interest, as I am prepared to show whenever I am permitted to do so in safety: or, if in any respect I shall be found faulty, I am ready to give ample satisfaction.

“This year an attempt has been made to procure peace for me, and the King consented to allow my return, if I should take the Holy Volume and swear that, while on this side the water, I have done nothing against his honour and interest. I referred this to my Lord the Pope, and he answered that, according to the interpretation of the King and his Court, every thing was against his honour

¹ Henry, late Dean of Salisbury, vide Ep. Joan. Saresb. 201.

‘Audio, Pater, et gaudeo, quod pro meritis vobis universa succedunt; et, qui Decanorum nomen et ordinem dum licuit honorastis, nunc in terra alienâ Pontificis illustras officium.’ cf. 154. ‘Sed quid faciet illa quondam nobilis et gloriosa præ cæteris, nunc aut vilis et abjecta inter ecclesias, Saresberiensis, tanto Patre orbata? Quis Episcopo naufraganti porriget dextram?’

His successor in the Deanery was John of Oxford, who occupies a conspicuous place in the sequel. During the vacancy, John of Salisbury says, (Ep. 148.) ‘cum cogito de successore, competitorum turba occurrit, sed si is sit quem animus meus conjicit alios præcessurum, decessoris habitâ collatione peræquum videtur ac si Phaethon currus paternos usurpet.’

that I could recollect having done against his will. So he advised me not to return on these conditions, but to wait till the King's anger had cooled down a little. I was then pressed by some to give security, that never for the future would I give any assistance to the Archbishop; and so to return into the King's favour. But though I am not bound to the Archbishop either as his liegeman, nor yet by any oath, nor honourable engagement, for I owe him nothing except obedience, to which all Bishops have a right from their subjects; yet as I thought it base to renounce my Lord, which no one yet has done in the whole kingdom, I did not choose to accept this condition either. But whatever else can be done, saving my conscience and good name, I will do most willingly.

“When I stated all this to my Lord of Rouen, in whom I place great confidence, he promised me his constant support. Will you have the goodness to write me what you advise in this whole matter.

“You may be assured it is my purpose for the future to keep clear of the Court; and this is known to his Lordship of Canterbury, from whose society I have withdrawn myself, though I have not withdrawn either my fidelity or my love.”

JOHN OF SALISBURY, TO THE BISHOP OF POITIERS¹.

“Thanks be to the Father of mercies, who has raised your Lordship up from your severe sickness² to the grace and benefit of the Church, and to comfort us in our shipwreck. Thanks, too, to your Lordship for condescending to keep me in your mind, and for the relief you have given

¹ Ep. i. 73. Ep. Joan. Saresb. 182.

² Ep. Joan. Saresb. 174 and 175, where it appears that poison was believed to have occasioned the Bishop of Poitiers the illness he was labouring under.

me by your letter. But as I have not yet been certified of your full recovery, nor of the peace which was hoped and promised, I send the bearer of these with the earnest request that you will write me word by him of all you think worth knowing.

“ That you may remain at peace I very sincerely hope ; nor can I see what other means you can make use of in recovering and preserving the rights of your Church, than those which that Church itself and its sons put into your hands, or which belong to you of common right by the suffrage of all Churches ; especially as you are a foreigner, bred and educated in another country, and of course cannot yourself state the Usages of Aquitaine, and its unheard of laws. So, as you have done and are doing all you can, if the cause of the Church suffers because its sons will not speak the truth out, the fault is not yours. No one in his senses, except an enemy, would advise you to spread your arms against a torrent that carries all along with it, when you cannot make out a case either of principle or prescription. For the terms of peace agreed on have the air of equity, and really, if the contracting parties each act sincerely, it is equitable : unless indeed, during the time your predecessors were at peace, any Usage was openly insisted on against God : for if so, no length of time nor consent of parties can make that just which is done knowingly against God’s commands, or indeed lessen its criminality.

“ However I suspect the faithlessness for which your race are famed, and the terrible and malicious power of the adverse party, which so many experience, that few will venture to oppose it. Your Archdeacon, whose zeal he feared, and whose friendship for you he suspected, was probably persecuted by him for no other reason, than to make him dread giving fresh offence after reconciliation ;

and to warn others who have been terrified by his example, and still more by ours.....But at any rate, I rejoice that peace and favour have been plenarily restored you; though I fear judging from the man's practice, which all know, that it may prove hollow and momentary. If it does prove so, you may be certain it was a mere artifice to obtain from you the oath of fealty, and this if I mistake not, includes, in his view of it, obligations which a Christian's faith will not allow him to undertake: e. g. that you will withdraw your charitable offices from those whom he is resolved to hate, and will assist him at least with counsel, against all whom he calls his enemies: and if your regard for the Christian faith restrains you from thus acting with him, he will try to brand you before the Nations, as he has his other old friends, with the stigma of broken faith.

“What he understands by that expression in which he claims security ‘for himself and his heirs against all mortals,’ appears clearly, from a letter which the German tyrant sent lately to Earl Henry, which I would have forwarded to you, if I had not already passed it on to his Lordship of Canterbury. It appears that John of Oxford has, in the name of our King, entered into a compact with this German tyrant, and sworn that he shall be supported with English arms and counsel, ‘against all mortals, saving only the King of France.’ At the ratification of this treaty, there were present many of our Nobles and Clergy; I mean from the province of Rheims, and they assert that the German said by his interpreter, ‘Roland¹, the enemy of the Church and Empire, is a mortal, and so are all his Cardinals, and none of them is the King of France; I therefore neither understand nor choose it to be understood, that any of these is excepted in this compact be-

¹ Alexander III.

tween myself and the King of England. If you agree or dissent, speak it publicly.' On this they proceeded with their league against God and His Church.

"But you will see all more clearly from a letter that I have just received from Cologne. I enclose you an extract¹. It is a letter from our King, to ask a safe conduct

¹ Ep. i. 69. Henry, King of England, to Reginald, Archbishop of Cologne.—"I have long wished for an opportunity to recede from Pope Alexander and his perfidious Cardinals, who dare to uphold against me the traitor Thomas, once Archbishop of Canterbury. With this object, by the advice of all my Barons, and with the consent of my Clergy, I intend to send to Rome the following great men of my Kingdom:—the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of London, the Archdeacon of Poitiers, John of Oxford, and Richard de Luci, who shall demand on my behalf, publicly and distinctly, that Pope Alexander and his Cardinals, desist forthwith from upholding the traitor, and disengage me from him, in such a way, that I may appoint another to fill the See of Canterbury. They are to demand, moreover, that all the acts of this Thomas be annulled, and to require from the Court of Rome a public oath that the Pope and all his successors will preserve inviolate to me and my posterity, all those privileges and prerogatives which were enjoyed by my grandfather Henry.

"If they hesitate to acquiesce in any one of these demands, I and my Barons, and my Clergy, will at once renounce our allegiance to him, and will exert ourselves to the utmost to overthrow his authority. And if any one in my territory shall after that dare to adhere to him, he shall be banished.

"To effect this, I entreat your Lordship, as a most dear friend, to send me without delay some one of the brotherhood of the Hospitlers; either Ernold or Raoul, with a safe conduct for the above named envoys, in your Lordship's name, and that of the Emperor."

It does not appear that Henry ever went so far as this letter threatens; but the fact that he was in treaty with the Emperor, and that the feelings with which he regarded Alexander, were such as he here expresses, would be arguments to the Pope to take a higher and less neutral course; as we have seen him doing.

for the envoys that he is sending to Rome against his Lordship of Canterbury, and affords a notable specimen of his attachment to the Church. But the wicked will be taken in their own snare, and he who is digging a pit for his brother will fall into it himself. "Happy the man who amid such allurements of the great Harlot, and such assaults from the Beast, is able to preserve his conscience and good name, the one for God, the other for his neighbour; both for himself. What he is to do who has lost both, I confess I see not.

"And now in answer to the last article of your letter; I earnestly entreat you, by the ineffable love of God, that in whatever you do about making peace for me, either through your Archdeacon, or any one else, you will procure such terms as will leave my good name and my conscience unimpaired; and if, which God avert, you see me inclining to any baseness, to which I and the like of me are prone, often from infirmity, but never without guilt, that your right hand will hold me up. For though the straitness of my own circumstances, and the cooling charity of my friends, now press hard on me and my brother, who is forced to be a sharer in my exile, yet by God's mercy, '*nondum cedo malis.*'"

In the following letter John of Salisbury seems almost to give up the chance of obtaining his pardon on such terms as he could conscientiously accept. He resigns himself accordingly to his fate.

JOHN OF SALISBURY, TO HIS BROTHER RICHARD¹.

"I send you only a few lines, as you will hear how I

¹ Ep. Joan. Saresb. 141. Richard had been deprived of his benefices at the same time with John, but was allowed for some

am from my letter to the Bishop and from the bearer. However, if any thing occurs worth noticing you shall hear at once. In the meantime, take pains to make out the views and wishes of his Lordship the Bishop, and of M. Baldwin, the Archdeacon; and let these under God decide you either in answering me or choosing what else seems best. As to my banishment, take it not to heart; we brought nothing into the world, nor shall we carry any thing out of it. Our cause is in God's hands, and I trust it is a just one; my situation, too, is not merely tolerable, but even pleasant, particularly when I think of the reason of it; nor can I say but what I have deserved much worse; so I am thankful for the rod which is to cleanse me, hoping that, if it proves, it may also profit me,—knowing that, if it humbles, it must exalt me.

“Certain it is that all affliction is profitable to the patient, helping them to love the world less and God more. Who hath hoped in God and been left destitute? He may be sought from the beginning of time, and will not be found even to its end.”

time to remain in England (Ep. J. S. 140, 162), during which he seems to have resided with the Bishop of Exeter, and to have been supported by him and his two brothers—Roger of Sidbury, and Robert Fitz-Giles (142, 156). John more than once invited him to leave England, and join him at the monastery of St. Remy (155), referring him for advice on the subject, to the Bishop, and M. Baldwin, the Archdeacon. There is a curious letter from John to the Bishop of Norwich, to beg that, though the proscription he was under prevented his claiming three marks, which became due to him on St. John's day, yet the Bishop would have the goodness to remit the sum to his brother (164 cf. 147). He seems to have had another brother living at Exeter, an apothecary, who escaped banishment altogether; for in 1169 he writes to Baldwin, recommending the bearer of the letter to him as an invalid, “*cujus curam precor haberi facias donec convalescat; in quo et fratrem meum, quod ad medicinam pertinet, sollicitum esse desidero.*”

CHAPTER VI.

THE EXCOMMUNICATIONS AT VEZELAY.

IN the mean time the Archbishop had again come forward as a prominent character in the Drama, having, for a considerable time after his banishment, remained inactive in his retirement at Pontigni, and confined his correspondence to his own intimate friends. Before the events mentioned in the last chapter, we find him writing to Robert, Earl of Leicester¹, pressing him to detach himself from the State party; to the Empress Matilda, explaining to her the wickedness and danger of her son's conduct, and soliciting her interference²; and to Gilbert, Bishop of London³, with the following address :—" Thomas, Dei gratiâ, Cantuarensis Ecclesiæ minister humilis, Venerabili fratri Gilberto, eâdem gratiâ, Londinensi Episcopo, magis in Christo gloriari quam in seculo ; amplius sperare in Domino, quam in mundi amplexibus." In these letters, however, there is nothing worthy of particular notice : the position of things and parties is set forth more clearly in the two follow-

¹ Ep. i. 34.

² Ep. i. 52.

³ Ep. i. 58.

ing from Nicolas of Rouen, describing the interview he had with the Empress Matilda, when he presented to her the above-mentioned letter from the Archbishop ; and other matters of interest.

NICOLAS OF ROUEN¹, TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF
CANTERBURY². BEFORE LENT.

“ The strong feelings with which I myself regard the present sufferings of the Church, and your Lordship’s heroic conduct, could not easily be described by me, and indeed are not very well worth describing. But there is another thing which I cannot forbear to mention, though it is of course well known to your Lordship, for the recurrence of the thought will assuredly be pleasing, suggesting, as it does, the certainty of your ultimate success, and the most soothing support during your troubles. The Church of Christ’s little ones³, whom your Lordship has, in your condescension, claimed as sons, and to whom you have commended yourself as your patrons before God, turns towards you with entire affection, praying day and night for a prosperous issue to your labours : it asks in faith, nothing wavering. Finish, therefore, with cheerfulness the good work which you have begun ; and think of the two great witnesses in whose presence you are acting,—Christ and conscience.

¹ [“ *Frater Nicolaus de Monte Rothomagensi.*” He seems to have been a person of importance, and to have been well known at Henry’s Court. John of Salisbury, with whom he was on intimate terms, thus acknowledges his great liberality to some of his own friends and fellow-exiles :—“ *Unde mihi interim, amicorum dulcissime, ut tuæ respondeam liberalitati, quam toties expertus loquor cujus, beneficia toties mei senserunt, quoties opportunitas data est, ut tuæ charitatis solatio fruerentur.*”]

² Ep. i. 53.

³ *Pauperes Christi.*

“ But of this enough. John of Oxford, who on his way from England to the Court¹, and on his return, paid a visit to the Empress, endeavoured to exasperate her against you by every malicious insinuation possible ; and as he could not find fault with your actions, he calumniated your motives, asserting that you had done all from pride and a domineering spirit. He affirms too, and so do the King’s other messengers, that the liberty of the Church which you uphold, is used by the Bishops, not for the good of their flocks, but to fill their purses ; (and though they admit, that as yet, owing to the short time you have held office, your Lordship is not chargeable with this yourself, yet they are positive you looked forward to it greedily) ; for that in England the delinquencies of persons accused before Bishops, are not punished by penance but by fines. They say too, that it is plain God cannot be on your side, for, that from the first day you were Archbishop, you have had about you, not persons remarkable for their religion, but for their intellectual rank, whom they call by a coarse name which it is useless to repeat. Also they assert, that in disposing of your benefices, you have looked to your own service more than to God’s, and have promoted persons of notoriously lax character. Lastly, they declare that your flight has nothing to do with the Constitutions of Clarendon, but merely with a money question between you and the King². I have mentioned these base fabrications, as well to put you on your guard, as to account for the exasperation of the Empress.

“ We paid our respects to her the third day after these

¹ i. e. of Rome, probably on the mission spoken of in Henry’s letter to the Archbishop of Cologne. [“The Court” frequently stands for the Court of Rome in these letters.]

² [To create such an impression seems to have been part of the object of the trial at Northampton. vide p. 83.]

messengers were gone. For some time she refused to receive your letter, and spoke sharply to us for having dared to visit you, after it was known you had been at Court. However we were not daunted ; and that time, and again afterwards, we forced her, as it were, against her will, to hear all the good we could say of you. The third day, after a few words, she received your letter kindly, but in secret, concealing the circumstance from her own chaplains, and ordering us to read it to her. When we had finished, she at once apologized for the harsh things she had said of your Lordship, either to me or to others, asserting that her son had concealed from her all his plans affecting the Church ; and now she has sent to him, demanding a full explanation of the whole. ‘ And then,’ she said, ‘ after I am fully informed, if I find I can interfere beneficially, I will do my best to bring about peace between my son and the Church.’

“ After this interview we sought the Bishop of Lisieux, at his manor of Nonant, near Baieux : he received us kindly, and read your letter in secret, assuring us of his readiness to forward your views, as well in the ways you suggested, as in others which occurred to ourselves. He protests that, from the time he was sent to the Court, though he apparently took part against you, he was really devising schemes for your advantage, (which he had promised he would do on a former occasion,) i. e. that in private he had spoken to the Pope in favour of your Lordship and your cause, and had never supported any of the King’s claims, except those which he knew he could not hinder. You may be sure that if the King applies to him for advice, he will do his best for your advantage. In the meantime he advises you to regulate your expenditure with caution. If, as the King’s party suppose, you have a large treasure with you, use it sparingly ; if not, on no account

let it be known ; for if they see that you are willing and able to persevere, now that your resources are cut off, they will be more likely to come to terms. Before the end of this festive season¹ he will send you a messenger of his own ; indeed he would have sent one now, if he had had a secretary with him in the manor to whom he could trust such secret matters. In the meantime he has sent to England his particular friend R. de Arderva, who will hunt out all that is going on at Court, and send you news of whatever he discovers.

“ On our return to the Empress, we laid before her again all your instructions. The Constitutions² we repeated from memory, as M. Herbert had mislaid the schedule. We added too, that some of them were contrary to the faith of Jesus Christ, and nearly all to the rights of the Church ; so that her son was perilling his eternal welfare as well as his temporal. She ordered us to send to you for another copy of the Constitutions, but, by God’s grace, we found the schedule that same day. The day following she excluded every one from her presence, and ordered us to read to her in Latin, and make our comments in French. The woman is from a stock of tyrants, and approved some of them, particularly that which forbids the excommunication of the King’s servants without his permission. I was unwilling to proceed without first arguing this point, shewing her, that, according to the precept of the Gospel, we are to ‘ tell it to the Church,’ not to ‘ tell it to the King,’ and much more to the same point. With far the greater number she found fault ; and what offended her above all was their being reduced to writing, as well as the attempt to exact from the Bishops a promise of their observance ; ‘ for this,’ she said, ‘ was with-

¹ Probably the festivities which precede Lent.

² Of Clarendon.

out precedent.' In conclusion, when I pressed her earnestly to mention some expedient for bringing about peace, we suggested this to her, and she assented. If the King applies to her for advice, she will recommend a compromise on these conditions,—that the ancient customs of the Kingdom shall still be observed, but without being reduced to writing, or enforced by a promise ; and that neither the Bishops should *abuse* the liberty of the Church, nor the civil judges *overturn* it.

“ You must know that our lady, the Empress, is very dexterous in the defence of her son, finding excuses for him, both in his zeal for justice and in the wickedness of the Bishops. Moreover she shews great discrimination and good sense, in pointing out the origin of the dispute. Some things she stated in which we quite went along with her. Certain it is that the Bishops most indiscreetly ordain many persons without titles, who, in consequence, are poor and ready for any thing that is bad. Moreover a single Cleric sometimes monopolizes four, or even seven prebends ; whereas the sacred canons manifestly prohibit the joint holding of even two. It occurs to one at once, how many disputes about presentation have arisen from this single bad custom. The Empress alluded to the case of Richard de Ilchester. Yet in this matter the conduct of the Bishops to their relations, and of the laity to their dependants, will scarce allow them to find any very clamorous fault. Again, the great fines which the Bishops levy on those who come to them for absolution, are quite unsanctioned by the Canons.

“ Since then it is from these and similar causes that disturbances really arise in the Church, it is greatly to be wondered why the axe is not laid to the root of the tree, rather than to its branches. It is the will of God that from such a tree we should reap bitter fruits. Wherefore

as you love the Church, for God's sake, show by your words and deeds that these abuses are no part of the system which you uphold; and when you write again to our Lady, the Empress, let her know your mind on this point.

“ We assure your Lordship that, in writing the above, we have been guided only by the love of right, and of our soul's good; if we have spoken foolishly, pardon us. Keep this communication a secret. We could not send earlier; as soon as ever we had read the Constitutions to the Empress, we made all haste to write. We now entreat you particularly to send us early information how you fare, and what are your intentions. Whatever you direct we will accomplish faithfully. We again ask pardon, both for our prolixity and presumption.”

NICOLAS OF ROUEN, TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF
CANTERBURY¹.

“ We are both of us unspeakably annoyed at having been prevented up to this time from coming to your Lordship, but the reasons are many and great. We are so deeply in debt, particularly for the house we purchased last year, that, from our inability to raise the sum, we are forced every day to go to the city and beg for a further delay of the payment. We are in another strait too, in consequence of the King's holding Court at Rouen; for if we were to absent ourselves we dread detection.

“ It is a hard word, and odious in his ears, when any one mentions your Lordship's name; nor is there any one who dares to speak well of you, or even to speak at all in his presence. Your Lordship, however, knows much better than we do in what a strait he is placed, and how re-

¹ Ep. i. 46.

sourceless he finds himself. On one side the King of France is his adversary; on another the people of Poitiers alarm him; and on another the Welsh. And what wonder if he, who is not protected by the Church, finds an enemy in every one.

“However, if an opportunity offers, one or other of us, either I, or M. Herbert, will find our way to your Lordship, and bring full information of all that happens in the interval. In the meantime, know for certain, that any terms will readily be acceded to, which the King of France may think fit to offer.

“May your Holiness fare well.”

Things were in this position when the critical Easter¹ arrived; and not ten days after the Pope issued the following peremptory mandate.

THE POPE, TO THE BISHOPS OF THE PROVINCE OF
CANTERBURY².

“To resist oppression and injustice appertains in all cases to our holy office; but more especially in these cases, where the oppressed are Clergy, and when it is the cause of the Church for which they suffer. In the present instance, the sufferings of the Clergy of Canterbury in behalf of their Lord, our venerable brother the Archbishop, can scarcely be unknown to you; you have witnessed them in person. And now, inasmuch as it is unfitting that, because they have been driven away with violence, they should also be deprived of their benefices, we charge you, that all those, who in the absence of the said Clergy have

¹ April 24, 1166; after which the Pope had allowed the Archbishop to exercise any powers he pleased. vid. p. 113.

² Ep. i. 32.

under the royal mandate taken possession of their benefices, be forthwith compelled, under the threat of excommunication, and without the benefit of an appeal, to make thorough and immediate restitution.

“In executing this commission, you will do well to show yourselves neither remiss nor lukewarm. ”

“Given at our Palace of the Lateran, May 3, 1166.”

This mandate of the Pope's was promptly followed up by the Archbishop.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, TO THE KING OF
ENGLAND¹.

“To his most revered Lord, Henry, by the grace of God, the illustrious King of England, Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and Count of Angers, Thomas, by the same grace, the humble minister of the Church of Canterbury, health and a holy life.

“I entreat you, O my Lord, to bear with me for a while, that, by the grace of God, I may disburden my conscience to the benefit of your soul. I am troubled on all sides, tribulation and anguish have found me out; whether I speak or keep silence, evil awaits me every way. If I am silent woe is me, for how shall I escape His hands who saith, ‘If thou speakest not to warn the wicked from his way to save his life, his blood will I require at thy hand².’ If I speak out then, I dread the wrath of my Lord. Yet it is safer to face the wrath of man, than to fall into the hands of the living God.

“Therefore trusting in His mercy, in whose hands are the hearts of Kings, and who turneth them severally as He will, now that I have broken silence I will speak on.

¹ Ep. i. 63.

² Ezek. iii. 18.

“ My Lord, the daughter of Sion is held captive in thy kingdom. The spouse of the Great King is oppressed by her enemies, afflicted by those who ought most to honour her, and especially by you. O, remember what great things God has done for you, release her, reinstate her in her kingdom, and take away the reproach from your generation.

“ Trust in my words, my beloved Lord, God is a Judge slow to anger, and long suffering, but an Avenger most terrible. Harken to me and amend your ways. Lest some day the Almighty gird His sword upon His thigh, and deliver His spouse with a mighty hand.

“ If it be that you shall hear my words, and prove yourself from this day forward God’s faithful soldier, then He will bless you greatly, and give glory to your sons, and to your son’s sons. But if not, then truly I dread, (may God avert it!) that ‘the sword shall not depart from thy house,’ till the Most High has made clean vengeance for His people. Remember, my Lord, how, after God had chosen Solomon and given him wisdom and prosperity, yet, because he turned back from the way of God and repented not in due time of his iniquities, therefore was his kingdom rent from him and given to his servant. Whereas David his father obtained pardon, because he humbled himself at once, and sought it from the Lord. May my Lord the King do likewise.”

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, TO THE KING OF
ENGLAND¹.

“ To his Lord and friend, Henry, by the grace of God, King of England, Duke of Normandy and Anjou, and Count of Angers, Thomas, by the same grace, the humble minister of the Church of Canterbury, his own once after

¹ Ep. i. 65.

the flesh, and now much more in the Spirit ; may he repent and amend his ways.

“ Waiting I have waited for the day when God should turn your Majesty from crooked ways and evil counsels ; silently and anxiously have I waited for the tidings of my Son and Lord the King of England, who was once seduced by the enemies of the Church, being, by the grace of God, restored to it in abundant humility ; and though I wait in vain, still I weary not, but pray for your Majesty day by day.

“ Yet now am I straitened above measure, for a spiritual power has been assigned to me by the same God under whom you hold temporal dominion ; and my office constrains me to address your Majesty in a manner, which as yet my exile has prevented. It is my duty to exhort your Majesty, nay to warn and rebuke you, lest, if in any thing you have done amiss, which indeed you have, my silence may endanger my own soul.

“ Consider then, most mighty Prince, that the Royal power in each separate realm cannot more justly interfere with the Polity of Christ’s universal Church, than the private rights of any town in your Majesty’s Dominions, with your Majesty’s prerogative. The most ancient usage has established, that in causes where the Priesthood is concerned, only Priests should pronounce judgment. The great Emperor Constantine declined to interfere in such. Indeed all history teaches us, that it is the custom of Christian Princes to submit themselves to the Church, not to rule over it : the authority of the Priesthood being so much weightier than that of Kings, in proportion as they, who are entrusted with it, have to render their account concerning Kings themselves. The Bishop’s sentence has before now sufficed to excommunicate King and Emperor too. Pope Innocent excommunicated the Emperor Arcadius ;

St. Ambrose the great Theodosius; and that too for a cause which the other Clergy deemed a light one; yet he earned absolution by a notable penance. King David bowed before the reproof of the Prophet Nathan, and obtained pardon. Be converted then, my beloved Son, my Royal master, and follow the man after God's own heart."

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, TO THE KING OF
ENGLAND¹. *Sine salutatione*².

"I have very earnestly desired to meet your Majesty in person, and to converse with you. I have desired it greatly for my own sake, but far more for the sake of your Majesty.

"As to myself, I hoped that the sight of me might recall to your mind the zealous and faithful services which I have before now rendered you, according to the best of my conscience, (so help me God, at the last day when we shall all stand before His throne to receive according to the deeds we have done in the body!) I hoped that when you saw me, who am now forced to beg my bread among strangers, you might at least be touched by some feeling of kindness. And yet, by the grace of God, I have a sufficiency, and am comforted in the words of the Apostle, that "All that will live a godly life shall suffer persecution³." But for your Majesty's sake I was much more anxious. You are my liege Lord, and as such I owe you my counsels: you are my son in the Spirit, and I am bound to chasten and correct you.

He proceeds to show the King his own view of the relations between Church and State, and then continues:—

¹ Ep. i. 64.

² These words occur in the Cave manuscript.

³ 2 Tim. iii. 12.

“ Since, craving your Majesty’s pardon, it is certain that the power of Kings is given them through the Church, but not that of the Church through Kings, your Majesty can have no pretence for compelling the Bishops either to absolve or excommunicate ; for summoning the Clergy before secular Courts ; for interfering with tithes or presentations ; for prohibiting the trial of perjury in the Bishop’s Court ; and many other things of like nature contained among the Usages which you are pleased to call traditional.

“ ‘ Keep *My* laws,’ saith the Lord. And again, ‘ Woe unto them that decree unrighteous decrees, and that write grievousness which they have prescribed, to turn aside the needy from judgment, and to take away the right from the poor of *My* people¹.’

“ Let my Lord, therefore, if it please him, listen to the counsels of his subject, to the warnings of his Bishop, and to the chastisements of his Father. And first, let him for the future abstain from all communion with schismatics². It is known almost to the whole world with what devotion your Majesty formerly received our Lord the Pope, and what attachment you showed to the See of Rome ; and also, what respect and deference were shown you in return. Forbear then, my Lord, as you value your soul, to withdraw from that See its just rights. Remember, moreover, the profession which you made to my predecessor at your coronation, and which you deposited in writing upon the Altar at Westminster, respecting the rights and liberties of the Church in England. Be pleased also to restore to the See of Canterbury, from which you received your consecration, the rank which it held in the time of your pre-

¹ Isaiah x. 1.

² The Emperor and his party.—cf. Henry’s Letter to the Archbishop of Cologne, p. 127.

decessors and mine ; together with all its possessions, its villages, castles and farms, and whatever else has been taken by violence, either from myself or my dependants, lay as well as clerical. And farther, to allow us to return in peace and quietness to the free discharge of our duties.

“ Should your Majesty be pleased to act in this manner, you will find me prepared to serve you as a beloved Lord and King, faithfully and devotedly, with all my might, in whatsoever I am able,—saving the honour of God and of the Roman Church, and saving my order.

“ BUT OTHERWISE, KNOW FOR CERTAIN THAT YOU SHALL FEEL THE VENGEANCE OF GOD.”

THE ARCHBISHOP, TO ALL THE BISHOPS OF HIS
PROVINCE¹. END OF MAY, 1166.

“ We who are called High Priests and Bishops, if we wish to understand the true import of our titles, and care to be what our name professes, should with continued earnestness both consider and imitate His steps, who, being made by God a High Priest for ever, hath offered up Himself for us upon the Altar of the Cross, and who now from His dwelling on high is looking down continually on the deeds and thoughts of men, for which He will one day call every one to a strict account. His Vicars upon earth we are ; we have succeeded to those high places in the Church which Apostles, and men Apostolical, have filled before us ; and to our ministry is committed the destruction of the empire of sin and death, and the building up in faith and good works of a holy temple to the Lord. And truly we are many, who have vowed at our consecration, and daily renew our promise, to feed and teach Christ’s flock with zeal and diligence,—would that our deeds bore

¹ Ep. i. 97.

testimony to the sincerity of our profession ! The harvest truly is great, but the labourers are not sufficient to gather it.....

“ In the Kingdom of England more especially, we grieve to observe the many daring encroachments which are practised against the prerogative of St. Peter ; more especially in the matter of those who, either in the performance of penance, or for their souls’ comfort, or on visits of respect, are desirous to obtain access to our Lord the Pope, and who are hindered, robbed, imprisoned, denied embarkation, by persons either serving voluntarily in the cause of evil, or who have been pledged to these practices by compulsory oaths¹.

“ We therefore, by the authority of the Holy See of Rome, command your Lordships, in virtue of your allegiance, and under the peril of your Order, that you forthwith forbid such outrages, and that against all such as persist in them, you pronounce public sentence of excommunication, and cause it to be proclaimed through your respective Dioceses ; and moreover, that you forward the same to all neighbouring Bishops, bidding them to repeat it, each as far as his own jurisdiction extends, as they value our command and that of his Holiness. And as to those who have sworn to assist in such iniquitous proceedings, we hereby absolve them from their unlawful oaths, and charge them henceforward to serve God rather than

¹ [When under apprehension of an Interdict, Henry had recourse, on more than one occasion, to this mode of preventing the arrival of the letters containing the sentence. In 1168, upon the Legates withdrawing, we find from Fitz-Stephen, that he “compelled all the Laity of England above the ages of twelve or fifteen, to take oath against his Lordship the Pope and the Archbishop, that they would not take in their letters. Any one found with them in his possession would be committed into custody, as guilty of a capital offence against the Crown.” Fitz-Stephen, p. 62.]

man. Lastly, if there is any one who, with the welfare of the Church at heart, and abiding in his allegiance to the Holy See, shrinks from the prospect of expense and danger, let him remember that good deeds are a securer treasure than the riches which are but for a moment.

“ Christ, who is the guardian of the Church of Rome, is also the restrainer of the Powers that array themselves against it. He, by whom the mighty are mightily tormented, will suffer no disobedience to escape. It is not against the humble that He directs His judgments, but by the ministry of the Church He humbles earth’s mighty ones; nor shall the gates of hell prevail against Him. And is it not a shame for us, my brethren, to deal less even justice, and, by partial lenience towards great men, to verify their own insulting proverb—

‘ Et tantum miseris irasci Numina possunt ?’

For the future then, take heed to yourselves, lest by persisting in your present courses you should appear to be conspiring against the See of Rome. Seek not your own advantage to its prejudice. Bear in mind, rather by what means our Fathers were preserved, in whose times the Church waxed great under persecution,—what storms have been escaped by the ship of Peter, while under the guidance of Christ,—how those only have obtained the crown whose faith has shone bright in tribulation. By such means it was, that Moses was made leader of his people, that David rose from a shepherd to a King, that the Apostles were made judges of the world. So it has fared with all God’s saints from the beginning; that all men might see how those alone are crowned who have striven for victory, and how there is no passing from the joys of earth to the joys of heaven.”

¹ THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, TO NICOLAS
OF ROUEN.

“Your brotherly goodness knows how patiently² we have sustained the grievances, wrongs, and insults, that have been heaped on us and ours, by our well-beloved Lord the illustrious King of the English; while he has requited our patience by injurious treatment of his most holy Mother, the bride of the crucified One; nor has feared to make her a slave, whom Christ died to emancipate.

³ “We have admonished him as a Father, supplicated him as a liegeman, rebuked him as a Pastor; but Father, liegeman, and Pastor, in our person he has despised alike;

¹ [Ep. i. 137. Joan. Saresb. 136.] This is one of the very few letters in the collection of John of Salisbury not written by himself, and the only one which I have discovered to be placed much out of chronological order.

² In the beginning of the persecution, the Archbishop seems to have felt great reluctance in laying any part of the blame on the King. His letters appellat from the Council of Northampton, conclude thus:—“Nec Domino Regi, horum aliquid imputetur, qui hujus machinationis est *minister* potius quam repertor.”

³ Monuimus eum affectu paterno, sæpius fide domino debitâ supplicavimus, corripuimus eum auctoritate pastoris. Ipse autem in personâ nostrâ patrem suum itidem fidelem contempsit, et pastorem. Et, ne quid de cætero veritati subtractum sit, quod Ecclesiæ periculosius est et ei perniciosius, Illum, cujus vices gerimus, spreuit Christum.

Habeantur hæc vana, et contemnat ut solet, si Filius Dei non dicit pastoribus, qui vos spernit me spernit.

Processit ulterius sollicitudo nostra ut ei pro pace Ecclesiæ summus Pontifex devotas preces porrigeret; sed non est exauditus. Exhortationes adhibuit; et surdum reperit auditorem. Increpationes adjecit; contemptæ sunt. Tandem Apostolica tuba comminationes intonuit; sed nec sic potuerunt fides et obedientia excitari.

and, what is still sadder for the Church and for himself, he has despised Him whose vicar we are, Jesus Christ.

“These might pass for vain words, and he might scorn as he is wont; but it is the Son of God who says to the Shepherds of the Church, ‘He that despiseth you despiseth me.’

“Our anxiety proceeded farther, and prevailed on the Chief Priest to intercede for the Church’s peace. He held forth his hands in supplication, but was not heard: he exhorted, but found none to listen: he rebuked, and was despised: last of all, the blast of the Apostolical trumpet sounded, but there was no answer of faith or obedience.

“That no means might be left untried, the King of France, his friend and his Lord, used all his influence; but neither could he obtain a hearing.

“We sought an interview with him, but were not even admitted into his sight. He would not even allow our name to be named before him; or the cause of God to be mentioned. We then sent envoys to him, holy men with letters patent, as he had directed, setting forth the extent of our demands and the justice of them. But our labour and theirs, as far as his Majesty could frustrate it, went for nothing.

“In all this we had acted faithfully, on the instructions of our Lady the Empress; and as you well know, and as she cannot fail to perceive, every expectation that had been held out has proved delusive.

¹ “Seeing then that this our patience is injurious to the

¹ Quia ergo hæc patientia nostra Ecclesiæ Dei perniciosa est, sed perniciosior illi cuius novissima fiunt in dies deteriora prioribus, nobis autem perniciosissima quos oportebit ante Tribunal Sponsi, non modo de operibus propriis, sed etiam de sanguine ejus et afflictione Sponsæ reddere rationem; pro certo noveris, et

Church of God ; still more injurious to his Majesty, whose latter end waxes daily worse than his beginning ; and to ourself most injurious of all, seeing that we shall have to account before the tribunal of the Spouse, not merely for our own misdeeds, but for His blood and for the sufferings of His Bride ; know for certain, and let our Lady the Empress know also, that in a short time, yea, very short, we shall, with God's help, unsheath against his person and territory the sword of the Holy Spirit, which is sharper than any two-edged sword ; for the destruction of his obdurate flesh, and the salvation of his well-nigh quenched spirit.

“ Make our Lady the Empress understand that she ought now to hold us excused in this matter, for that things are come to a pass in which further forbearance would be sinful. And assure her that even now, should her son revive to a spiritual life, and listen to his mother's

Dominæ Imperatrici intimes, quod in personam ejus et terram, in brevi immo brevissimo, vitâ comite et Deo auctore, exeremus gladium spiritus sancti qui omni gladio ancipiti penetrabilior est, ut sit in ruinam induratae carni, et sopito immo extincto spiritui in salutem.

Persuadeas ergo Dominæ nostræ ut nos de cætero habeat excusatos in eo quod ultra dissimulare non licet : sciatque pro certo, quod si revixerit filius ejus, et consilium Matris recipiat, audiens vocem Dei, nos ad honorem Dei et voluntatem suum paratos inveniet. Interim morientem filium pariter et eodem lugemus affectu, qui salutem ejus et honorem Deo teste consimili desiderio optamus pariter et oramus. Interim morientem filium pariter, et eodem lugeamus affectu, qui et salutem ejus et honorem, Deo teste, consimili desiderio optamus pariter et oramus. Hæc cum dolore, lacrymis, singultibus et suspiriis loquimur, tanquam viscera nostra, de clastro pectoris acerbitate ferri extracta, ardore cauterii inuramus. Quod et Deus scit, in cujus injuriam exercere ulterius non debemus impiam pietatem, ei matrem, patrem, sororem præferendo, vel dominum. Non est dolor sicut iste dolor, sed charitas Dei, et utilitas, et honor ejus, qui curatur, nos urget ut hunc forti animo sufferamus.

counsels and to the voice of God, he will find us ready to attend his wishes, to God's honour. Meanwhile, we mourn over his approaching death with the same tenderness as herself, and hope and pray, God knoweth it, with no less earnestness for his preservation.

“These things we speak, not without sighs and tears, as though our own bowels were being torn from us and seared with red hot iron. And this God witnesseth, the God whom we dare no longer offend with an unhallowed pity, which prefers to Him, either father or mother or sister or lord. There is no grief like this grief. But the love of God and the true interest of his Majesty, for whose soul's health we labour, bids us endure even this with such fortitude as we can summon. Farewell.

“Salute our brethren, and entreat their prayers for ourselves, that we may obtain the spirit of wisdom and fortitude, and for our Lord the King, that he may turn and repent, and restore peace to the Church of God.”

This letter was shortly followed up on the part of the Archbishop, by a pilgrimage to Soissons,—previous to proceeding to Vezelay to pronounce sentence of Excommunication.

¹ JOHN OF SALISBURY, TO BARTHOLOMEW, BISHOP OF
EXETER.

“.....Difficulties perplex the King on all sides, but what harasses him most, is the war he is waging against the Church of Christ, which he now sees before him as an inextricable labyrinth.

“Not long since, at Chinon, he held a conference with his Nobles and those of his friends who are notorious for

¹ [Ep. i. 140. Joan. Saresb. 159.]

their skill in evil; conjuring them with promises, and threats, and protestations, to assist him with some device against the Church, and complaining, with sighs and groans, of the Archbishop's conduct towards him. According to those who were present at the time, he asserted, with tears in his eyes, that the said Archbishop would take from him both body and soul; and in conclusion, he called them all a set of traitors, who had not zeal nor courage enough to rid him from the molestations of one man¹. On this his Lordship of Rouen rebuked his Majesty with some warmth, yet gently, in his own way, and with the spirit of meekness; whereas the cause of God required a sterner course.

“What so especially embittered his Majesty on this occasion, was a fear which he had conceived from letters sent to himself and his mother by the aforesaid Archbishop. I enclose you copies of them. He feared, and with justice, that an Interdict was to be pronounced against his territories, and himself anathematized without farther delay, under the immediate sanction of the Pope. While he was in this strait, the Bishop of Lisieux suggested as a last resource, that the impending sentence might be warded off by an appeal. Thus, by a strange fatality, it came to pass that his Majesty, while contending for those very Usages² by which he sought to avoid the right of appeal, was compelled himself to sanction it, for his own protection.

¹ It will be perceived that these are the very expressions which Henry uttered in 1170, four years after, and which were the immediate occasion of the Archbishop's murder.

² Of Clarendon, Article viii. “De appellationibus, si emerint, ab archidiacono debent procedere ad episcopum, et ab episcopo ad archiepiscopum. Et si archiepiscopus defuerit in justiciâ exhibendâ, prostremo ad regem est perveniendum, ut præcepto ipsius in curiâ archiepiscopi controversia terminetur, ita quod non debeat ulterius procedere absque assensu regis.”

“ At the breaking up of the conference, the Bishops of Lisieux and Seez¹ went out from before the face of God and the King, to seek his Lordship the Archbishop with all haste, that they might be in time with their appeal², and thus suspend the sentence till the Sunday after Easter 1167. The Archbishop of Rouen, too, accompanied them, not (as he protests) to join in the appeal, but, if possible, to mediate a reconciliation. But our Archbishop, who was now girding himself as for the battle, had made a sudden journey to Soissons, where are the three famous shrines³, that of the blessed Virgin, whose memory is cherished there, and another of the blessed Drausius, to whom men resort before a duel, and the third of the blessed Gregory, the founder of the English Church, whose body rests in that city. To these Saints he wished to commend himself against the approaching struggle. But the blessed Drau-

¹ Frogerius,—in *Ecclesiam Sagiensem non electus sed intrusus*, Ep. iv. 14. *Ministerio Dei neglecto tanquam Curialis factus est, sicut dicitur, rusticorum spoliator, scelerum ultor*, Ep. v. 71. *Carnifer Sagiensis*, Ep. v. 11.

² An appeal against a sentence of excommunication, in order to be valid, must be made before the sentence is passed: after the sentence, the person excommunicated, being no longer a member of the Church, cannot be acknowledged in the character of an appellant, but only as a penitent. This is not the case with any other appeals except that against excommunication.

³ *Archiepiscopus vero noster, in procinctu ferendæ sententiæ constitutus, iter arripuerat ad urbem Suessionum orationis causâ, ut Beatæ Virgini cujus ibi memoria celebris est, et Beato Drausio ad quem confugiunt pugnaturi, et Beato Gregorio Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ fundatori, qui in eâdem urbe requiescit, agonem suum precibus commendaret. Est autem Beatus Drausius gloriosissimus confessor, qui, sicut Franci et Lotharingi credunt, pugiles, qui ad memoriam ejus pernoctant, reddit invictos: ut et de Burgundiâ et Italiâ in tali necessitate confugiatur ad ipsum. Nam et Robertus de Montfort ei pernoctavit adversus Henricum de Essexâ dimicaturus. Sic ergo Domino faciente delusa est sollicitudo Episcoporum Regalium.*

sus is that most glorious confessor, who, according to the belief of France and Lorraine, imparts the certainty of victory to all who watch a night before his shrine. The Burgundians, too, and Italians fly to him for succour before any perilous encounter. Here it was that Robert de Montfort watched before his combat with Henry of Essex. Thus, by God's grace, it came to pass that the assiduity of the State Bishops was frustrated. For when they arrived at Pontigni, they found no Archbishop to appeal against, and returned at once, much mortified at the expense and trouble which had procured them nothing.

“ But the Archbishop, when he had watched three nights before the shrines of the above-named Saints, the day after Ascension day, hastened to Vezelay¹, intending the following Sunday to pronounce sentence against the King and his party. It so happened, however, by God's will, that on the aforesaid Friday, when he was in the Church of St. Mary, he received a well authenticated account of the severe indisposition of the King of England,

¹ Vezelay is one of the most curious and interesting places with which the translator is acquainted. It stands on the top of a conical eminence in the broad and fertile valley of the river Cure, on the borders of Burgundy and Nivernois. The situation was selected on account of its strength, at the time when this part of France was exposed to the ravages of the Saracens, and at that time, i. e. in the year 878, (if we are to believe Hugh of Poitiers, a monk of Vezelay, who wrote in the middle of the twelfth century) the greater part of the present Church was built. It is a structure of very great dimensions, and, if we are to judge merely by the architecture, anterior to any of the known styles of the Gothic or Norman. Its ornaments, which are rich and large, are much more like the deteriorated Roman workmanship than any thing subsequent to the revival of the arts: the seven western arches of the nave appear to have undergone no alteration from the first, nor has any part of the Church been altered since the year 1160; so that it is now exactly what it was when St. Thomas of Canterbury visited it.

which had prevented a conference between him and the King of France, that had been solicited by him with much earnestness. This had been certified on oath by Richard, Archdeacon of Poitiers, and Richard de Humet, whom his Majesty had sent to excuse his non-attendance, and was signified to the Archbishop by a messenger from the King of France; for which reason the sentence against his Majesty was deferred, as your correspondent had before ventured to advise.

“John of Oxford, however, he publicly denounced as excommunicate, and excommunicated him on the authority of the Roman High Priest; I quote his own words, ‘for having fallen into a damnable heresy in taking a sacrilegious oath to the Emperor¹, and communicating with the Schismatic of Cologne², and usurping for himself the

¹ vid. note, p. 127.

² [Reginald, Archbishop of Cologne, to whom Henry's letter, p. 127, was addressed. It was at his suggestion principally, that the Emperor had set up Paschal (Guido of Crema, mentioned p. 109) as Antipope, to succeed Octavian. At a meeting lately held at Wittenburgh, to support the Emperor in this attempt, Reginald opened the proceedings, and gave out, on the authority of the English Envoys, (probably those mentioned in the letter above referred to, whom he would have seen on their way to Rome), that Henry was about to join them, and would bring over fifty Bishops with him: on the strength of which reinforcement, he proposed adopting strong measures, and banishing all persons, of any station in the Church, who declined acknowledging Paschal. The Archbishop of Magdeburgh objected, and called upon the Archbishop of Cologne to commit himself first, by receiving consecration from Paschal. The latter hesitated, but on the Emperor becoming furious, and charging him with treachery and false dealing, he consented, and received Orders from the Antipope¹, promising to receive

¹ [Reginald could have been only Archbishop Elect, having been nominated to his See only a year ago, by the Emperor, whose nomination, at that time, the Pope would not of course recognize. Before this time he had held no situation which required even Orders. vide p. 109.]

Deanery of the Church of Salisbury¹, against the commands of his Lordship the Pope.' These causes he alleged from the pulpit, in the hearing of the whole concourse of diverse nations, who had flocked together to Vezelay on the day of the Festival. In the same place likewise, after alleging various and just causes, he excommunicated Richard, Archdeacon of Poitiers, and Richard de Luci, Jocelin of Bailiol, Raoul de Broc, Hugh de St. Clair, and Thomas Fitz-Bernard², and all who for the futures shall put forth their hands against the goods and property of the Church of Canterbury, or ill use or interfere with those for whose necessities they have been set apart.

"The King, on whom he had already called for satisfaction by letters and messengers, as his Royal dignity and the custom of the Church required, he now invited with a public summons to the fruits of penance, and menaced with an anathema, unless he speedily returned to wisdom, and atoned for his outrages against the Church. This,

Consecration afterwards. (Ep. i. 72.) The Archbishop of Rouen denied afterwards, that the King had made any such promise, as that asserted of him; "Quia quinquaginta quos exhiberet Rex non habet." Ep. i. 102.]

¹ The Deanery of Salisbury had lately become vacant on the promotion of Henry, the late Dean, to the Bishopric of Baieux. (Ep. Joan. Saresb. 148. 201.) At this time some of the Canons of that Church were in banishment with the Archbishop, and the Pope forbade the election of a new Dean to proceed without their consent and privity. (Ep. D. T. i. 100.) But as the Bishop was under the King's displeasure, he found it necessary to make his peace, in defiance of the Pope's command, by conferring the Deanery on the King's nominee. (Ep. D. T. i. 104. ii. 7.) According to the statement made by John of Oxford to the Pope, he accepted the Deanery on compulsion.

² [Fitz-Stephen mentions an excommunication of the Bishop of London, which took place about this time. p. 56.]

³ i. e. he pronounced a decree, by which all such offenders became, *ipso facto*, excommunicate. This an Archbishop might do with the Pope's sanction.

however, he will not resort to, except most reluctantly. I know none of his household who urges the passing of this sentence.

“That Document, moreover, in which are contained the perverse devices of malignants against the Church, which they call the Usages of our ancestors¹, he has publicly condemned; including in a general anathema all who shall henceforth act on its authority, and expressly the following clauses, which the Church of Rome selected for especial condemnation.

“1. That no Bishop may excommunicate any tenant under the King, without the King’s licence.

“2. That no Bishop may coerce any of his parishioners for perjury or breach of faith.

“3. That Clerics shall be subjected to lay tribunals.

“4. That Laics, whether the King or others, may take cognizance of tithe causes.

“5. That appeals, for whatever cause, to the Apostolic See, shall not be lawful, except with permission from the King or his officers.

“6. “That no Archbishop, nor Bishop, nor any other Dignitary, may attend a summons from his Lordship the Pope, without the King’s licence.

“There are others too of the same kind, opposed alike to the Divine Law, and to the Constitutions of the Holy Fathers.

“All the Bishops, moreover, he absolved from the promise they had given, to abide by that document against the institutions of the Church, and these things he announced by letter² to the Archbishops and Bishops, as the Church of Rome had directed him.

¹ The Constitutions of Clarendon.

² We are informed by Fitz-Stephen, that it was scarcely possible to find a messenger daring enough to deliver these letters. “Hujus sententiæ in Angliam portitor vix repertus est.”

“Such has been the employment of the Archbishop.

“The King, as I doubt not has come to your knowledge, despatched a very worthy man, M. Walter de Lisle, to England, from the conference of Chinon, with letters to warn the Islanders of the appeal, and cause the ports and passes to be watched attentively, and suspend the Clergy from their obedience; though the appeal has not yet been made, and the Archbishop can be found without any difficulty.

“I doubt not that this contrivance displeased the aforesaid Walter, as well as other encroachments made upon the Church, for he fears God. The King has also sent for his Lordship of Chichester and others¹, by whose prudence he hopes to strengthen his own malice. If they were wise, they would spare themselves and theirs in this matter.

‘Pæna reversura est in caput ipsa suum.’

“As to the rest: His Lordship the Pope prospers in the City. It is said that Cremona² has most certainly rebelled against the German, and eight other cities with it.

Hist. Ang. Script. a Sparke, p. 56. John of Salisbury had great difficulty in sending his own letter; it is without address and signature, and the reason he assigns for this is the danger of detection. [“Licet ex more scribentium ad amicos *salutis votum pagina non prætendat*, nihil tamen affectuosius est in votis et orationibus meis, quam ut viæ vestræ jugiter prosperentur in Domino. Salutationem enim—suspendit—consulta dispensatio—*Nam insidiis dicuntur omnia plena esse, ut bonis invicem colloquendi aut scribendi tutum non possit esse commercium.*”]

¹ It seems to have been in consequence of this summons that Nicolas of Rouen was expecting his arrival in Normandy. Ep. i. 146.

² Cremona and Pavia were the chief cities in the Ghibeline league; but for two years their fidelity to their Emperor had been suspected. In May, 1164, the Archbishop’s envoy had sent him word, “*Urbes Italiæ minus solito promptæ sunt in obsequium ejus, adeo quod Papienses et Cremonenses, per quos Italiam domuit, ei in faciem resistant.*” Ep. i. 7.

The Bishop of Tusculum, and Cardinal Hubald¹ are dead. William, King of Sicily, is likewise dead, and his sons have succeeded him; one to the Kingdom, and the other to the Dukedom of Apulia. When on his death-bed, he caused 40,000 sterlings to be paid to John of Naples for the Pope's use. His son too who succeeds to the throne has sent as many. The King of France supports the Archbishop of Canterbury in everything, and honours him more than a brother. The news of the English Court, where many changes are taking place is, I conclude, better known to your Lordship than to us.

“May your Fatherly goodness prosper, and be strong in the Lord; and commend us to the prayers of the Saints, that we may be comforted in our tribulation.

“A return will be granted us, when it pleases Him who has set us apart for exile, and for whom, as long as it shall be His good pleasure, we will endure our lot with a most ready will, prepared for every suffering which he shall strengthen us to bear. May the same grace which has thought us worthy to suffer, give us patience to endure².

“My wishes and prayers be granted for your Church, and your whole family, and all who minister to your needs by their intercession.”

¹ Bishop of Ostia. He seems to have been subject to severe indispositions. Cf. Ep. v. 61. in which he writes to the Archbishop of Canterbury; “Quando paternitatis vestræ literæ nobis allatæ sunt, tantâ corporis infirmitate laboravimus, quod a medicis de vita nostra desperabatur.” This accounts for the false report of his death. He succeeded Alexander III., with the title of Lucius III. A. D. 1181, and was Pope four years and a half. He was a native of Tuscany; made Cardinal Presbyter of St. Praxis, by Innocent II., and Bishop of Ostia by Adrian IV.

² [This letter must have been written shortly after the former one to the same Bishop, in the last chapter (p. 121); and probably about the same time with the one to his brother Richard (p. 128): its tone, with respect to future prospects, is very like that of the latter letter.]

CHAPTER VII.

THE APPEAL OF THE BISHOPS.

THE proceedings related in the last letter were made known officially by the Archbishop to the Bishops of England and Normandy, with an injunction at the same time to denounce the excommunicated persons in their respective dioceses. Among the rest, notice was sent to the Archbishop of Rouen, who gave the matter a most unwelcome reception. His behaviour occasioned the following letter.

NICOLAS OF ROUEN, TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY¹. BETWEEN JUNE. 28, AND JULY 6.

“ We rejoiced exceedingly at your Lordship’s letter, which informed us of the public anathema you have pronounced against those perverse Institutions, which our King wishes to force on the English Bishops. For as it is certain that there are at present few who will either resist the perversities, or avoid in public those whom you

¹Ep. i. 146.

have excommunicated, we are assured that your Lordship has not relied on man's assistance for giving this sentence its effect, but on Him only who has committed such authority to men¹.

“ Perhaps you have laid a better and a sounder foundation than you would have done by passing sentence on the King at once. For by condemning the aforesaid perversities, you have cut yourself off from all hope of return unless the Church is liberated.

“ You should know that Brother G——, who was to have delivered your letters, has not arrived. For this reason I myself read and delivered them to his Lordship of Rouen in the presence of the bearer of these, from whom you will learn in part at least, the spirit and expression of countenance with which they were received. He neither promised nor yet refused to withdraw from your excommunicates; but as to your command that he was publicly to denounce them, he plainly told me he would not comply with it, and said you had given it because you wished for partners in exile. He affirms too that he did wrong in

¹ Cum enim vobis non sit incertum, paucos ad præsens inveniri qui vel resistant pravitatibus, vel eos quos excommunicastis publice devitent, scimus quod, non in humanis auxiliis, sed in eo fiduciam executionis sententiæ posuistis, qui dedit potestatem talem hominibus.

It is worth observing that the Archbishop's immediate successor Richard entertained much lower notions of excommunication. vid. letters of Peter de Blois. Ep. 73. “ Accepta mihi esset sententia excommunicationis in talibus si *timorem incuteret*; sed, culpis nostris exigentibus, gladius B. Petri rubigine obductus est.” This is urged by Richard, whose secretary Peter de Blois was, for calling in the secular power to protect the Church. The letter is addressed to three persons often mentioned in this history. John of Oxford, afterwards Bishop of Norwich, Richard of Ilchester, afterwards Bishop of Winton, and Geoffrey Ridel, afterwards Bishop of Ely.

receiving your letters at all, because you had kept out of the way, when he went to Pontigni to seek an interview with you. I understand from him too, that himself and the Bishops of Lisieux and Seez are prepared to invalidate this or any other sentence of yours, by proving that they were gone in quest of your Lordship with proposals to submit the whole dispute to arbiters, such as could lawfully mediate between your Lordship and the King.

“ Under these circumstances it seems to my poor judgment, that, unless your Lordship and your advisers see reason to the contrary, you should signify to his Lordship of Rouen and the other two Bishops your readiness to return to your See at once, and abide by the judgment of such persons as can canonically give sentence respecting an Archbishop of Canterbury; that is, if they can obtain from the King a guarantee for your personal safety, such as the Pope shall approve, and to which the Empress and the Archbishop are parties; and moreover, if the Church is allowed to resume the position it held before any of these questions were moved; i. e. if its property is restored, and if the Bishops are released from the observance of the perversities.—Unless they can obtain these preliminaries from the King, they may fairly be requested to desist from further countenancing his measures against the Church.

“ It seems to me better to make this understood, before you proceed to pass sentence on the King: not at all because I think it will lead to any thing, but to deprive them of a subterfuge. If you send them letters to this effect, let me have a copy.

“ His Lordship of Rouen has been complaining of me to the Empress, for delivering to him your letters. All your actions he imputes either to pride or passion.

“ For myself your Lordship may feel assured, that I

will abstain from all intercourse with the excommunicates, even from ordinary civilities. If you excommunicate the King, I should wish for distinct instructions in what particulars he is to be avoided, and whether I may name him in the celebration of Mass. I am ready to face any inconvenience or danger rather than fail of my part in enforcing the Church's sentence.

“ Your letter to the Bishop of Chichester¹ I have now in my possession, waiting to ascertain where he is, or if he comes into these parts, to deliver it myself. People say as well at court as elsewhere, that you are to be Chancellor to the King of France. Some conjecture that you will select the Feast of St. Mary Magdalen for excommunicating the King. When the Empress heard whom you had excommunicated, she took it as a joke, saying she thought they had been excommunicated long since. But afterwards when Richard of Ilchester made his salute, she took no notice of him.

“ Of Court news I know little, except that the Barons of the Diocese of Le Mans have made peace with the King. From Bretagne no one as yet; but on the vigil of the Apostles the King was with his army within four leagues of Fongeres. On the return of the Abbot of Derby you shall hear more. Raoul² the Knight Hospitaller who is just come from England, told me that the Bishops met on the day of St. John the Baptist³, and ap-

¹ Ep. i. 145.

² Vid. i. 69. p. 127.—In an historical note appended to this last letter it is said, “ Missus itaque est Frater Radulphus Hospitarius, ad Regem Angliæ, qui Nuntiis, quos Rex ad Curiam mittere disposuit, præbuit ducatum per terram Imperatoris.”

³ June 24.

pealed against you till Ascension-day next¹; on the ground that you had suspended the Bishop of Salisbury without their consent, and had threatened to excommunicate the King. Your Archdeacon, they say, is doing his utmost to get permission to cross the water; but he has not yet received your letters².

“ You may write back any thing you wish to say to me, by Friar Adam the Canon Regular, who loves your Lordship for your zeal for justice. He is to return immediately.

“ May your Holiness fare well.

“ Know for certain that the Bishops, even Hereford, speak most disrespectfully of you, as a troubler of the English and Roman Churches. The Bishops and all the Abbots are to hold what they call a Council at Northampton, on the Octave of the Apostles³.

The advice which Nicolas gives in this letter is confirmed by John of Salisbury.

JOHN OF SALISBURY, TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF
CANTERBURY⁴.

“ Salutem, et comfortari in Illo, qui dissipat consilia gentium, et impiorum conatus evacuat, et potestates evertit.

“ I have just received the letter in which your Fatherly

¹ ‘ Quod Episcopi convenientes circa festum sancti Joannis appellaverint contra vos ad *Viri Galilæi*.’ The words V. G. are the first words of the Introit in the Mass service for Ascension day.

² Ep. i. 98. In which the Archbishop commands him “ in virtute obedientiæ et in periculo Ordinis, quatenus post suspensionem literarum nostrarum, infra quadraginta dies conspectui nostro te repræsentes, servaturus Domino fidem, Patri devotionem, obedientiam Archiepiscopo tuo, ut vel sic discas Officii tui necessitates exercere, cujus utinam dignè emolumenta senseris.”

³ July 6. ⁴ Ep. i. 150. Joan. Saresb. 166.

goodness¹ asks me to write you word what I think, on reading over the letters of his Lordship of Salisbury², and John of Oxford, and M. Hervey and my Lord Nicolas³.

“Your man never delivered to me either John’s letter, or M. Hervey’s, which I wish very much to see; the drift of John’s I can pretty well guess from yours and the Bishop of Salisbury’s and the Chapter’s⁴. What it is that the Bishop elect of Chartres has told you, I know not: for his letter says nothing except that you were to trust Vin-

¹ Paternitas vestra. ² Ep. i. 104. ³ Ep. i. 146.

⁴ Ep. i. 105. These letters are to give notice of an appeal against the sentence of suspension which had been pronounced against the Bishop of Salisbury, and that of excommunication with which John of Oxford had been threatened. Sentence had been passed on John before the letters were delivered; and therefore as far as he was concerned the appeal was invalid—since by Canon law an excommunicate was disqualified for appealing. The transaction is thus explained in a letter written at this time by John of Salisbury to the Bishop of Exeter. Ep. i. 167.

“Venerunt ad eum [Dominum Cantuarensen] nuper clerici duo, sicut mihi pro certo relatum est ab eo qui tunc erat Pontiniaci, hæc publicantes et appellantes, unus ex parte Domini Saresbiensis alter ex parte Decani sui (John of Oxford) inficiantes omnino se juramentum præstitisse Imperatori, vel Reginaldo Coloniensi Schismatico in aliquo communicasse. Idem etiam confitens se clericum familiarem de mensa M. Joannis de Oxenford, qui Regis clericus est, se Regis ad Archiepiscopum verbum habere dixit; appellans, ex parte et nomine Regis et Mandato ejus, ut aiebat, eundem Archiepiscopum ad audientiam Domini Papæ Alexandri, et per eum appellationi diem præfigens quâ cantabitur, ‘*Ego sum Pastor bonus.*’

“Archiepiscopus vero in hæc verba respondit: ‘*Tu, cum nobis ignotus sis, nec mandatum nec literas Regis habeas, et ex communione Domini tui Joannis de Oxenford (quem excommunicatum esse constat,) per literas Domini Papæ excommunicatus sis, appellantis officium implere non potes. Nos autem Mandatum Apostolicum exequemur, et Deo auctore implebimus.*’

cent. So you see my instructions were defective in a point of the last importance ; for I have no knowledge how your business prospers in the hands of M. Hervey, and what support the shipwrecked Church of England may expect from the Apostolic See for which it is suffering ; and this certainly we ought to inform ourselves of, in common prudence, for according to the parable, whoso buildeth a tower let him sit down and count the cost, and whoso fighteth a King let him count his forces.....

“ On the whole I think you cannot do better than follow the advice of Nicolas, who, as I trust, has the Spirit of God, and write at once to the Empress, and Archbishop, and Norman Bishops, that you are and always have been ready to abide by the Canon Law, and to return to your See, on restitution being made to you and yours, if only security of person is guaranteed to yourself and them ; and the liberties of the Church are allowed to stand as they were, before the outbreak of these troubles. It seems to me, that you can scarcely be too moderate in your demands, as it is quite clear they will be rejected, be they what they may : for your adversaries are obviously hardened against any proposals, short of such as will break down the Church and disgrace the Clergy. But by writing you will do at least this good : you will record a testimony against the malignant Bishops, and what is very important, you will set men right as to the moderation of your own conduct.

“ If, as I very little expect, they lay your proposals before the King and he accepts them, I do not see that you need be very cautious in wording the conditions, as long as the Empress and Archbishop are parties to them, and the King grants you security by a public declaration and by letters patent. For what if God has willed to discipline you by placing you in the midst of enemies, of

those who will lay siege against you, and seek your life to take it away?

“ Some will perhaps disapprove the rashness of thus exposing your life to your enemy’s swords, and will call it wiser to defer the danger till more thorough repentance has fitted you for martyrdom. I answer no one is unfit but the unwilling¹. Young be he or old, Jew or Gentile, Christian or infidel, man or woman, it matters not. Whoever suffers for justice is a Martyr, i. e. a witness of truth, an assertor of Christ’s cause.

“ However this is little to the purpose, for, as my mind presages, his Majesty is not yet so convalescent, that we need concern ourselves about the terms of our reception. But since that firm pillar of the Church, the Archbishop of Rouen, gives out, that all your actions proceed either from pride or anger, you must meet him with a studied display of moderation, in all your words and deeds, as well as your dress and deportment. And yet this will be but of little avail in the sight of God, unless it proceeds from the inner secrets of your conscience.

“ As to the appeal of the Bishops I will tell you my opinion. In their struggle to be free I fear they have enslaved themselves irrecoverably : and by a just fate. For when, after six years of oppression, during which they were lying, as it were, on their backs in the mire, a year of redemption at last came to summon them to liberty, they positively preferred remaining as they were. Some had married wives, and were enervated ; others had bought

¹ Sed arguet quis fortasse temeritatem hujus consilii, caput vestrum hostilibus gladiis objectantis, dicetque commodius esse et cautius expectare ut peregeritis pœnitentiam, quia ex conscientia peccatorum nondum estis apti martyrio. Ad quod ego : nemo non aptus est nisi qui non vult pati pro fide et operibus fidei.

yokes of oxen ; others had been heaping up riches not telling who should gather them ; all were engrossed in pleasures of one sort or another : and therefore they chose, I say, to have their ears bored with the awl, and to mark themselves as bondmen for ever to the iniquitous Usages, rather than be elevated to spiritual liberty.

“ As to the Bishop of Hereford, that supposed deliverer of Israel, who was to do so much by his contempt of the world, and by his learning, of which by the ignorant or the ignorant of him he is supposed to have abundance¹, if he and his friends call you a troubler of the Church, well may they be answered in the words of Elias, ‘ I have not troubled Israel but thou and thy father’s house, in that ye have forsaken the commandments of the Lord, and thou hast followed Baalam.’ Not that I, the advocate of moderation, would wish the Bishops to receive this answer from your mouth : it ought to come from their own consciences, or from some holy man, who might rebuke their idolatries and whoredoms.....

“ On the remaining question about which you consult me, I really do not feel competent to give advice.

“ I cannot urge you to pronounce an anathema against the King your Master, nor an Interdict against the innocents of his Realm. I still abide by what I said to you at Chateau Thierry. Your Lordship will remember it, as you thought the same. I will add however that, on the points which have arisen since, I advise you to consult his Lordship of Poitiers, and to take the opinions of other wise men. If Hervey is yet returned, have some conversation with him. But more than all be diligent in prayer, and the other exercises of Christian warfare ; and com-

¹ peritia literarum, quarum ab ignaris vel eum ignorantibus, creditur habere copiam.

mend your conflict to the Lord, through the intercession of His Saints. And then proceed to such measures, be they what they may, as the Holy Spirit shall point out to you through its organs, wise and good men. I think too that you have the Spirit of God. For He, who gave you zeal when your deserts were little, will not refuse you wisdom now that you deserve it, and are in this emergency¹. I advise you then, as our old Father and Master² used to say to you, ‘not to hide in your boot what God inspires into your heart,’ nor to prefer the counsels of less wakeful and sincere advisers³.

“ After the Feast of St. Peter, God willing, I mean to come to you : and then we may clear up many points by talking, which we could hardly get through in letters.

“ What you did at Vezelay, has long been known to the Archbishop and Church of Rheims ; I need not tell what every one knows. If he is offended at the Templars, you had better seem not to see it ; his conceptions are hasty and generally prove abortions. You owe him nothing yet, and I advise you to keep clear of such obligations. If you ask his pardon, he will magnify the injury. If you seem not to see your offence, even if he has been injured, he will forget it. But the readiest way to reconciliation is to catch him with a present. Yet I see Templars well received at his Court, and their business transacted without difficulty. He himself is gone to Clairvaux, called in, as it is reported, by the majority of the Convent,

¹ Credo quod et vos ipsi habetis Spiritum Dei. Quia qui zelum dedit immerito, bene merenti credendus est in necessitatis articulo consilium ministrare.

² Theobald, late Archbishop of Canterbury.

³ Non ergo suadeo ut, secundum quod communis pater noster et dominus dicere consueverat, consilium, quod Dominus inspiraverit cordi vestro, in caligula reponatis, et aliorum minus in causa vestra vigilantium præferatis opiniones.

to depose the Abbot. Fromund, who had been principal agent in this, died on the 14th of July, and is buried in the Monastery of St. Remy."

Meanwhile the Bishops of the Court party in England, who had become alarmed at the Archbishop's excommunications, and especially at his comminatory letters to Henry, which involved the threat of an interdict on the whole kingdom, were beginning to hold consultations as to the line of resistance to be taken; and at the same time made efforts to gain over some of the more neutral ones among them, before committing themselves to any public and decisive step. So much perhaps is necessary in order to understand the following letter.

JOHN OF SALISBURY, TO HIS BROTHER RICHARD¹.

"Dearest of all my friends,

"I should be most unjust to you if I sent an account of my wanderings to any one earlier than to yourself, who, with your amiable Lord, I doubt not care more for me than any other mortal does. Even if I had nothing to write about, I should think this of itself worth writing to you. All that I have written to his Lordship the Bishop² is intended equally for you, and what I am writing to you may also be shown to him. I should have addressed it to himself, unless the shortness of the paper had prevented me, and now I wish him to hear it as from me. May it prevail with him through the grace of that Spirit which deserts not the faithful in the day of their necessity.

¹ [Ep. Joan. Saresb. 170.]

² The Bishop of Exeter.

“ My prayer for him is, that in this conflict between might and right he may walk so circumspectly, law preventing, grace guiding, and reason succouring him, as neither rashly to oppose power, seeing that it is God’s ordinance, nor yet timidly to bow before it; and for the love of good things, which are but for a moment, consent to an unjust oppression of the Church; bartering the birthright of this generation and of posterity; deserting his office; denying his profession; arraying himself against the good cause.

“ You will say perhaps that it is easier for me to speak than for him to do; that the book devoured by the Prophet was sweet in the mouth, but bitterness within; that many arts are easy to teach and hard to practise, and none more so than the art of living, which is indeed the art of arts, transcending all others as in usefulness, so in difficulty. You may add that of our comic poet, ‘ It is easy for healthy men to prescribe for sick ones;’ yet if you were here, you would say differently. However, though I may have little skill in keeping, or trying to keep the advice I give, I may at least imitate the satirist—

‘ ———fungens vice cotis, acutum
Reddere quæ ferrum valet, exsors ipsa secandi.’

“ I do not mean that I entertain any serious doubt, God knows, of so great and sincere a Father, but I cannot repress all uneasiness for the dangers of my friend. I know well the eagerness and power of our persecutors, and the feebleness of the Church, (though his Lordship the Pope is now in better health, and is comforted of the Lord :) I know, too, the pusillanimity of some of the Bishops, the enviousness of others; and I cannot but fear that, while thus surrounded by false brethren, who appear to be somewhat, from their rank, learning and character, his Lord-

ship's innocence is not altogether free from hazard. Even Moses and Aaron, those Chiefs of Israel, failed at the waters of strife, and forfeited the land of promise. It is reported to us that the English Bishops have lately had many conferences to decide on their future line of conduct. In the name of truth, what will they decide, except that they fear and are troubled, and this above measure? What will they decide, except that they prefer yielding shamelessly to resisting manfully? What will they decide, except that iniquity may triumph, and no one denounce the ways of sinners nor point out the way of the Lord? Not that I would urge or wish his Lordship '*dirigere brachia contra torrentem,*' and thus to expose his Church to perils and calamities: but rather that he should imitate what we are told of Hushai the Archite, who brought to nought the counsel of Ahitophel.

"I am told, would that it may prove false, that his Lordship of London and my poor friend the Bishop of Chichester, are giving arms to the ministers of iniquity against the Church, and doing their best to prevent the Archbishop's return from exile. Is it that, as Cicero says, they fear '*ne refugiat hasta Cæsaris aut gladius hebetetur.*' But for my part I regard it as a fable."

It was not long before the Bishops openly declared themselves. They met in a body on John the Baptist's day, (June 24,) and after a debate, concluded with presenting to the Pope an appeal against the Archbishop's proceedings, both past and to come: the latter with reference to his recent letters threatening an Interdict.

THE CLERGY OF ENGLAND, TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF
CANTERBURY¹.

“To their venerable Father and Lord, Thomas, by the grace of God, Archbishop of Canterbury, the Suffragan Bishops of his Province, and their respective Clergy, all submission and obedience.

“Holy Father,

“We had for some time indulged a hope that, by your Lordship’s discretion and humility, the troubles caused by your most unexpected departure were in a fair way to be composed. It was a great consolation to us to hear from all quarters that your Lordship, in your retirement on the continent, had abandoned all designs against our Lord the King, and that you were living in self-imposed poverty, instant in study and prayer, redeeming the loss of past time with watchings and fastings and tears; and thus absorbed in spiritual occupations, were ascending through the blessed steps of a holy life, towards the summit of Christian perfection. We truly rejoiced to hear that your Lordship was so occupied, and indulged a hope, that by such means you might obtain for our Lord the King, grace to forego his anger, and in his Royal pity to forget the injuries which he has sustained in your departure. Indeed, as long as this opinion prevailed respecting your Lordship, your friends and well-wishers occasionally found access to his Majesty; and at times, he even bore with supplications in your behalf. Now, however, a rumour has reached us which we call to mind with the deepest concern. It is reported that you have sent to his Majesty a letter of Commination, in which, so far from attempting to conciliate, you omit even the customary salutation², and in a menacing tone, propose to place his

¹ Ep. i. 126.

² Vide p. 141.

Kingdom under an Interdict, and cut himself off from Christ's flock.

“Should this stern threat be as sternly executed, we fear it will only tend to perpetuate the evils which seemed but just now drawing to a close: and surely it is the part of the truest wisdom to regard the results as well as the first steps of its undertakings. We venture then to press on your Lordship seriously to reconsider, how far the course you are adopting is calculated to effect its object: for ourselves, we confess that it has cast us down from great hopes; all the expectations we had conceived of peace are now dissipated; we are driven back from their very threshold by a gloomy feeling of despair; and now that war is to be waged, as it were, with drawn swords, a place can no longer be found for intercession. For this reason we counsel your Lordship in sincere charity, not to persist in adding toil to toil, injury to injury; but laying aside menace, to wait in patience and humility, commit your cause to the clemency of God and the condescending kindness of your Sovereign. By so doing, you will heap coals of fire on many heads; a kindlier feeling will in this manner be restored, and what threats could never extort, a submissive piety may obtain.

“Better were it to enjoy the esteem of all for voluntary poverty than to incur the imputation of ingratitude. As it is, an impression prevails unfavourable to your Lordship, among all those who are aware of your obligations to his Majesty; they recollect how he elevated your Lordship from a low condition, received you into his closest friendship, entrusted to you his whole territory from the North Sea to the Pyrenees, so that none were esteemed happy but in proportion as they gained your favour. Lastly, to secure your Lordship against worldly reverses, he wished to establish your power in the things of God; and against

the advice of his mother, the remonstrances of his Kingdom, and all the sighs and longings which the Church ventured to express¹, exerted all his influence to place you in your present exalted situation ; hoping thereby to secure the happiness and prosperity of his reign. What will the world say of you, if after all, his Majesty receives the blow from the very quarter from which he looked for security² ? What will be for the future thought of this most unheard of return of favours ? For these reasons we entreat your Lordship to desist from a course which cannot fail to tarnish your fair fame ; and study to overcome with humility your sovereign, and with charity your son.

“ And farther, should these reasons seem insufficient, some consideration appears due to the interests of his Lordship the Pope, and of the Holy Church of Rome ; lest your measures should aggravate the sufferings of our already suffering Mother, and embitter her sorrows for her disobedient children, by alienating from her those who yet obey. For what if our Lord the King, on whom by the grace of God whole nations attend, should, which God avert, allow his irritation at your Lordship’s conduct to shake his allegiance towards his Lordship the Pope ? overtures to this effect are daily made to his Majesty, and of a most pressing kind. As yet he has indeed stood firm and founded on a rock, treading under foot all the seductions the world can offer ; but we cannot assure ourselves that anger may ~~not~~ at length overcome a mind which is proof against interest. Should this come to pass through your Lordship’s instrumentality, you will doubtless be swallowed up in lamentation, nor will the fountain of your tears be ever again dried up.

¹ On this subject vide Appendix.

² Si ergo securim accipit unde securitatem sperabat, quæ de vobis erit in cunctorum ore narratio ?

“ Again, then, we entreat your Lordship to desist from measures so fraught with danger to his Lordship the Pope, and the Holy Church of Rome.

“ But perhaps the high and mighty among your Lordship’s counsellors cannot brook the course we recommend. They exhort you to try your strength, and to exert the power entrusted to you against the King and his territory. Now, with regard to his Lordship the King, we do not indeed deny that he may in some instances have acted wrongly ; but this we do say and confidently affirm, that in every instance he has been most ready to make amends. Having received his kingdom from God, he is of course anxious to preserve peace among his subjects ; and with this intention, as well towards the Clergy as the people, he exacts the recognition of those prerogatives which were enjoyed by the Kings, his predecessors. On this head, if any slight dispute has arisen between himself and your Lordship, yet, when admonished through the Paternal care of his Holiness, by the Bishops of London and Hereford, he showed no signs of pride, but offered with all gentleness and humility to refer the points in question to the judgment of the English Church. By his offer he is still ready to stand. Indeed, if he has done any thing amiss, he looks on advice to correct it as a pleasing attention¹. He is prepared for every just and proper compliance, and even for reparation, if it shall be deemed right. By what law, then, or what right, or what Canon, can you subject to Interdict, or, which God avert, to Excommunication, one thus ready to make amends, and not even in trifles withdrawing himself from the judgment of the Church, but bowing his head to Christ’s yoke ?

“ In such matters it is not good to give way to impulses, but rather to be controuled by judgment.

¹ Vide Note, p. 180.

“For these reasons, then, it is the common request of all of us, that your Lordship proceed not with headlong counsel to slay and to destroy, but provide rather with paternal care for the sheep of your pasture, securing to them life, and peace, and quietness.

“In conclusion, we cannot disguise our concern at reports which have reached us respecting certain irregular proceedings against our brethren, the Bishop¹ and Dean of Salisbury. The treatment they are said to have re-

¹ The Archbishop had just suspended the Bishop and Chapter of Salisbury, for the appointment of John of Oxford to the Deanery, vide note, p. 154. Foliot, we find, interested himself with the King, in favour of the Bishop. (Ep. i. 106.) The Bishop of London, to the King of England.—“My Lord, we venture to commend to your Highness our venerable brother, his Lordship the Bishop of Salisbury. We are well assured of his fidelity to your Majesty, and of the unfeigned affection with which he wishes success to all your undertakings. And most undoubtedly it will redound to your Majesty’s Royal honour and glory, if you now regard him with clemency, and turn on him the eyes of your Royal pity.

“He sends your Majesty your faithful Cleric, to inform you by word, and by the writing of which he is the bearer, of the pious solicitude evinced for him by his Lordship of Canterbury. At present he bears the burden of suspension, and, as he has been duly cited, we conjecture from what is past, and from the tenor of the citation, that, whether justly or unjustly, he will not long escape excommunication, unless your Majesty interferes. Now if this should come to pass, it will not only bring infamy on himself, but cause a general sense of insecurity among all the Dignitaries of your realm. The imminent peril may, however, be readily averted, God willing, through your Majesty’s assistance; if only your benignity will summon him forthwith into your presence.

“We, therefore, earnestly join in his prayer and supplication, that you will be pleased to grant present access to your sorrowing and faithful servant; and that you will permit him by appeals, and such other means as the Lord shall suggest, to rebut the efforts of one who is in all things your adversary, until the arrival of your Legates.”

ceived at your Lordship's hands, one of them having been suspended, and the other condemned without trial, appears, as we cannot but feel, more like the result of anger than of justice. To condemn first, and then to take cognizance of the offence, is surely a novel process ; unknown, as we suppose, alike to the Laws and Canons ; and one which, if directed against the King and his kingdom, or against ourselves, our Churches and Dioceses, might cause the greatest scandal as well as detriment. Such indeed is our sense of its danger as a precedent, and of the prejudice it is likely to create against the Church, that we have felt it our duty to protect ourselves by an appeal. And with this view we now renew in writing an appeal, such as we long since made in person, fixing Ascension-day next as its term. And at the same time entreat your Lordship, with the greatest possible devotion, to adopt more wholesome counsels, and for your own sake as well as ours, to spare us the pain of such a remedy."

THE CLERGY OF ENGLAND, TO THE POPE¹.

" To their Father and Lord, Pope Alexander, the Bishops of the Province of Canterbury, and the Clergy of their respective Dioceses, their assurances of Christian love and obedience.

" Your Holiness will probably recollect the tenor of certain admonitions which your Holiness addressed to your dutiful son, our beloved Lord, his Majesty the King of England, through our venerable brethren the Bishops of London and Hereford ; and the respectful answer which his Majesty returned to them, assuring your Holiness, with all gratitude, of his readiness to comply with your instruc-

¹ Ep. i. 128.

tions, and to abide by the judgment of his Clergy in such cases as might be considered to require its interference. From this pledge he has no desire to recede ; nor is there any necessity for harsh language to stimulate his obedience.

“ Indeed his Majesty’s conduct is a sufficient guarantee for his intentions. His actions are not such as to shrink from observation : his steadiness in the true faith ; his scrupulous observance of the marriage vow ; his resolute maintenance of peace and just government, and his zeal in remedying all scandalous abuses, are well known, and need no comment. The very occasion of this unhappy controversy, was an anxious wish on the part of his Majesty to enforce equal justice among his subjects. Certainly the Clergy had been convicted of extravagant abuses, and his Majesty, on seeking redress in the ecclesiastical courts, was unable to procure any sentence against them beyond degradation from holy orders. This punishment appeared to his Majesty not commensurate with the crime of homicide¹, and insufficient for the protection of his subjects ; while the Clergy on the other hand asserted the privilege of their order : and thus a dispute arose, in which, as we conceive, each party is justified by the purity of their intention. It was now necessary, with a view to restoring a mutual good understanding, that an enquiry should be instituted into the ancient usages of the kingdom, and the question thus finally brought to an issue. And accordingly evidence was sought among the oldest of our Bishops and Nobility, and their combined testimony was publicly recorded.

“ This is the tyrannical conduct for which his Majesty is so maligned throughout Europe. And yet such is his

¹ See the arguments used at the Council of London, p. 63 & Seq.

Majesty's deference for your Holiness's authority, that, should any of these usages prove injurious to his holy Mother the Church, he pledges himself to amend it according to the judgment of his Clergy.

“ With this feeling on the part of his Majesty, things were on the point of being amicably settled, when irritation was renewed by harsh conduct of our Lord of Canterbury. At a time when every thing depended on his patience and forbearance, his Lordship assumed a tone of severity scarcely consistent with his sacred office. He threatened to excommunicate his Majesty, and place the kingdom under Interdict; he pronounced sentence at once against the principal Court favourites and privy-councillors, without the form of trial or conviction; and farther, without the consent of any Bishop of his Diocese, suspended our venerable brother the Bishop of Salisbury.

“ What may be the consequence of such irregular proceedings, we profess ourselves unable to foresee. The times are difficult, and no small handle is given to disaffection; nor can we look forward to preserving much longer either the peace and the discipline of the Church, or even the personal security of the Clergy. Yet with a view to delay these evils, at least during the lifetime of your Holiness, and in some degree to counteract the ill-judged measures of the Archbishop, we have resolved on appealing to your Holiness, and have fixed Ascension-day next as the term of the appeal; rather choosing to submit in all things to your Holiness's pleasure, than to the haughty caprice of our Lord of Canterbury.

“ May Almighty God long preserve your Holiness to the well-being of the Church.”

John of Salisbury, in his usual way, passes some free criticisms on the former of these letters.

JOHN OF SALISBURY, TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF
CANTERBURY¹.

“ I have read the letter which your Lordship’s colleagues in the Episcopate have at last indited for your consolation, after the long exile and proscription of yourself, and all connected with you : and truly it is an emanation from the counsel of Ahitophel and the pen of Doeg.....

“ The Bishops, it seems, of London and Hereford have remonstrated with him, and he has expressed himself willing to do every thing that is right. This Bishop of London ! is not this he, who, as all know, headed the Schism in the Church of England ; and who, as many suspect, was the instigator and fomentor of the whole dispute, with a view to secure the Archbishopric to himself ?

“ As to the falsehoods which he has dared to assert respecting your Lordship’s elevation², I care little for them. I was myself present at it, and saw it all. He was the solitary individual who did not express pleasure at your nomination ; and he, as was then evident, and is still abundantly so, had been foremost among the aspirants to your Lordship’s See. Yet even he was soon shamed out of his opposition, for every one saw through his ambition and impudence. Whatever then were his secret intentions, (of these God takes cognizance) he was one of the first to give his vote in your favour, and the loudest in his praises of the election.

“ As to poor Hereford, what shall I say of him, except

¹ Ep. i. 161.

² Vide Letter p. 173. The words are “dissuadente Matre suâ, regno reclamante, Ecclesiâ Dei quoad licuit suspirante et ingemiscente ; vos in eam quâ præestis dignitatem [Dominus rex] modis omnibus studuit sublimare.” [John of Salisbury all through supposes the Bishop of London to be the *real* author of the joint letter of the Bishops.]

that stetit not indeed ‘magni,’ but yet ‘alicujus nominis umbra,’ before men found out what he was? They make use of his name as a covering for themselves, because he is thought learned by those who either know nothing of learning or of him; and they wish to varnish over their own misconduct under the sanction of this ‘learned and aged Prelate.’ Of him and my Lord of London we may say in the words of the poet—

‘Non Bibulo quidquam nuper sed Cæsare gestum est;
Nam Bibulo gestum Consule nil memini.’

Here follows a detailed criticism of the several topics urged in the letter¹; at the conclusion of which he proceeds :—

¹ The part of the letter which seems most to have incensed, and at the same time amused John of Salisbury, is this :—

“Dominum vero Regem non quidem non peccasse dicimus, sed semper Domino paratum satisfacere confidenter dicimus et prædicamus. Rex a Domino constitutus paci providet per omnia subditorum. Et ut hanc conservet Ecclesiis et commissis sibi populis, dignitates regibus ante se debitas et exhibitas sibi vult et exigit exhiberi. In quo si inter ipsum et vos aliqua est oborta contentio, a Summo Pontifice super hoc paternâ gratiâ per venerabiles fratres nostros Londinenses et Herefordenses Episcopos conventus et commonitus non in cælum os suum posuit, sed in omnibus in quibus vel Ecclesia, vel Ecclesiastica quæcunque persona se gravatum ostenderet, se non alienum quærere sed Ecclesiæ regni sui pariturum judicio humiliter et mansuete respondit. Quod quidem et factis implere paratus est. Et *dulce putat obsequium, ut corrigat si quid offendat in Deum.*”

John of Salisbury thus comments upon this passage :—

“Namquid facies meretricis facta est eis, et frons adamante durior, ut non erubescant *confidenter*, ut aiunt, *prædicare* innocentiam hominis, cujus malitiam et iniquitates novit prædicat et detestatur Christianus orbis? Qua autem impudentia dixerunt, et ne verba in ventos evanescerent scripserunt, quod omnibus falsum esse innotuit, quia Rex, quem impatientissimum esse nullus ambigit, gratum habet cum corripitur, et *dulce putat*

“ Your Lordship’s answer seems to be framed with great temper and elegance, and sweeps away their elaborate subtleties, as so many spiders’ webs, by plain and powerful

obsequium cum monetur, ut corrigat si quid offendant in Deum? Si quid inquit, ac si dubium sit eis illum deliquisse in Dominum? qui quidnam quæso ducunt in crimine, qui hoc esse innocentiam glorianur? Sed si *corripi putat dulce obsequium*, planum est illos amplioris esse perfidiæ, qui Dominum suum tam enormiter patiuntur errare.”

In a letter to Bartholomew, Bishop of Exeter, (Ep. i. 130.) he writes much in the same style.

“ Plurimum mirantur et stupent qui hæc audiunt, qua conscientia, qua impudentia, qua fronti ausi fuistis asserere, scribere, et Episcopalis auctoritatis characteribus confirmare innocentiam hominis, cujus injustitiæ sunt omnium fabulæ. Nam scripti vestri verba sunt hæc pro Rege, cujus causam notarius vester justificare conatur. *Rex omnem promittit justitiam, et eam factis implere paratus est. Et dulce reputat obsequium cum monetur, ut corrigat si quid offenderit in Deum. Nec solum satisfacere, sed etiam, si jus exigit, satisfacere paratus est.* Et post pauca subjungit eundem,—*ecclesiæ se judicio, in his quæ Ecclesiæ sunt, nec in modico subtrahentem, sed colla Christi jugo subdentem.* Et paulo superius, *Dominum Regem non quidem nunquam peccasse dicimus, sed semper Domino paratum satisfacere confidenter dicimus et prædicamus.* Si fidem quam non habet desiderat scribe vester, et si qui ei consentiunt, exeundum est eis de orbe Latino, ne, quoties hæc prædicaverit,

‘ Quære peregrinum, vicinia rauca reclamationet.’

Et ne tamen adversus Ecclesiam pro consuetudinibus testimonium daret sapiens ille Tabellio, inseruit scripto vestro, *Rex a Domino constitutus paci per omnia providet subjectorum, et, ut hanc conservet Ecclesiis et commissis sibi populis, dignitates regibus ante se debitas et exhibitas sibi vult et exigit exhiberi.* Quid hæc audiens Ecclesia Gallicana? ‘ Ita,’ inquit, ‘ Deus et Evangelii verba adjuvent eos a quibus et pro quibus hæc scripta sunt.’ ”

The words, *dulce putat obsequium*, seem most particularly to have tickled John of Salisbury’s fancy: he quotes them in most of his letters written at this time. In Ep. ii. 37, he comments ironically on them to Nicolas of Rouen. “ Bene agitur

reasoning. And though your letter, confined as it is to matter strictly necessary, is yet somewhat long, there is still one point I could wish you to have dwelt on more fully. I could wish you to have given greater prominence to the patience which you have so long exercised, and the earnestness with which you have sought to restore peace ; your frequent and humble attempts to recall his Majesty, by letters, by messengers from our Lord the Pope, and from yourself, by his mother, to whom he ought to have deferred, by the Bishops, English and Continental, by the brothers of the Temple and Hospital, by the King and Nobility of France ; and last of all, by your own fruitless endeavours to procure a personal interview.

“ However, since your Bishops write and ‘ confidently affirm,’ that he ‘ is prepared for every just and proper compliance, and even for reparation if this shall appear reasonable ;’ to me and some of my friends it seems advisable that you should send them a summons to appear before you, naming particularly those who signed the precious letter, and his Lordship of Salisbury, who complains of unjust suspension, and Worcester, who is, as it were, your Lordship’s first-born in the Lord¹, and any others whose presence may be useful ; and so put to the test the sincerity of this

cum nostratibus, si tamen vera est attestatio quam nuper addiderunt principes Sacerdotum.....Quia Dominus Rex *dulce putat obsequium*, &c. *Si quid deliquit*, inquit, malorum inexperti, et quibus nondum certum est, eum contra Dominum in aliquo deliquisse. Bene inquam cum eis agitur, si prædicationi et attestationi eorum veritas subest. Non est de cætero, dilecte mi, quod querantur, quia hoc dulci, quod prædicant, correctionis obsequio a Rege quod æquum et bonum fuerit poterunt impetrare. Non est de cætero quod eis quisquam compati debeat, qui tanta facilitate possunt procellam quamlibet in auram commutare.”

¹ The Bishop of Worcester was the first that the Archbishop consecrated.

their 'confident affirmation.' Probably when summoned they will refuse to appear, though a pending appeal has never been held an excuse for disobedience; but at any rate, the justice of your cause will be brought out more clearly by such an exposure of their falsehood and wickedness.

“ And yet I cannot think that all the Bishops and Dignitaries in the different dioceses, who are included in the lying address, have in fact consented to such wickedness. Surely in a Church of eighteen Bishoprics there may be found those ten righteous for whose sake God spares us, and will not utterly destroy our island. For though some preserve an unbecoming silence, and dissemble through fear of consequences, yet there are I suppose among the Bishops some, and among the Clergy many, who with firm faith and a good conscience are waiting for the Kingdom of God. And for this reason, unless the great gulf which is fixed between us and our country prevents you, I advise you to send this letter of mine to each of the Bishops, and the more famous among the Ecclesiastical bodies; in the hopes that it may confirm some, and stimulate the rest. Urge them too with letters of your own, but in the spirit of meekness and gentleness, to return to a better mind and remember what is due from them. But above all things be especially cautious to avoid every appearance of superciliousness or violence.

“ Lastly, I have heard from those who profess to know the Bishop of Hereford well, that while at the University he was immoderately vain; indeed that his love of fame was as remarkable as his contempt for money. So the notion is that nothing would more effectually stir him up, than a letter from some Master of the Schools, or some famous Monk, e. g. the Prior of St. Victor's and the like, with whom he was intimate in France, complaining of sloth in him who was expected to deliver Israel; and

urging him to set forth in his own conduct such a Bishop as he used to picture in the Schools ; and to recover his reputation by avoiding the faults he used to be so severe on. They advise something of the sort too about Worcester.

“ However I, for my part, entertain no great hopes of them ; nor (but let this be a secret) am I over confident in the King of France when matters really come to a crisis ; nor can I place much reliance even on the See of Rome, with the ways and wants of which we are but too well acquainted. Our Lord the Pope is indeed a holy and just man, and Lord Albert, it is said, treads in his steps ; but so pressing are his necessities, and such the avidity and improbity of the Romans, that he too often prefers might to right, and tolerates as a Statesman what he never can approve as a Prelate. I fear then that we shall have to wait in patience for the day of the appeal, and that, when it arrives, those who love gifts will follow after rewards¹ : the times are against us, and so are our circumstances, and those of others.

“ It is the purpose of our enemies, yea of the enemies of the Church of Christ, to wound and pierce us with the wealth they have despoiled us of : but the more the expence and toil to which we subject them, the readier they will be to come to terms. At present, what so cherishes their malice and audacity, is the circumstance that we alone are exposed to difficulties, while as yet they have revelled in wealth and luxury.”

The Archbishop's reply to which John of Salisbury alludes in this letter, was very full and long ; entering into all the charges which had been urged or insinuated by his opponents, as well those against

¹ Isaiah i. 23.

his conduct and character generally, as those which related to his late official proceedings. The following are some of the more interesting parts of his letter.

[THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, TO THE CLERGY OF ENGLAND¹.

“ The letters, which your brotherhood lately directed to us contrary to our expectation, (which nevertheless we do not believe altogether to have come from your joint deliberations,) we have received. Their contents seem intended to give pain, rather than consolation. Would that you had written in the spirit of devotion and charity more, and of self-willedness less !—Would, beloved brethren, that the same zeal were apparent in you, in defending the Church’s liberty, that you have shown in subverting it, by your letters of appeal ! which are however, we think, somewhat informal.....

“ But to come to the point : have you forgotten, my brethren, how the Church and myself were treated before my leaving England : what took place at my departure, and after it, and is now at this very moment going on ? Chiefly I refer to what was done at Northampton ; where in my person Christ was brought before the Governor’s judgment seat ; and an Archbishop of Canterbury was compelled, for wrongs inflicted on him and the Church of God, to appeal to the Roman Court ; and place his goods and possessions, wrongly called *his*, seeing they are the property of the poor, the patrimony of the Cross, of which he is made the guardian rather than the owner, under the protection of God and the Roman Church. Who ever before

¹ Ep. i. 127.

saw an Archbishop of Canterbury tried, condemned, and compelled to give surety in the King's Court; and that principally at the suit of his own suffragans? Where is the law, or the canon, adverse and perverse though it be, which authorizes such proceedings? How is it that these enormities have not begot in you shame, that this shame has not caused confusion of face, this confusion penitence, this penitence the rendering of satisfaction both to God and man? For these wrongs done to God and his Church, and to me for their sake, it was, that, when I could no longer tolerate them with peace of conscience, or repair them without danger to my life, or dissemble them but at the hazard of my soul, I chose rather to retreat for a season from the tabernacle of sinners to the house of God, till the measure of iniquity should be filled up, and the counsels of the wicked revealed. This was the occasion of my departure; which, though you call it sudden, was only so in respect of the measures which were then carried, or were going to be carried against me. You know full well, if you would own it, that my flight must have been sudden, if it was not to have been stopped altogether..... If however, as you say, great confusions ensued in consequence, let him who occasioned that flight, be reckoned accountable for what it produced. The blame, in such cases, rests with the aggressor, and the persecutor; not with him who only escapes from injustice. But to proceed—We presented ourselves at the Court; we laid before his Holiness our own and the Church's wrongs, which had been the causes of our journey and our appeal; no one was present to reply to us: we waited; still no one came. While thus tarrying in expectation, our Officials in England were summoned, and received strict orders not to obey us in any secular matter, or minister to us in any thing without the King's consent: at your suggestion this, we believe, my

Lord of London, in conjunction with Richard de Welchester, and the Archbishop of York. The whole party then hastened to the King, and (let him who gave the advice see that it fall not upon his own head) without any trial, and no reason being alleged, while the appeal was actually pending, and we were staying at the Court, the Church, ourselves, and all connected with us—Clerics and laics, men, women, and children—were involved in one sentence of robbery and proscription. Our goods, the patrimony of the Cross, were confiscated; part being applied to the King's use, part to your own, my Lord of London, if the report be true, which has reached our ears; which share, if you do indeed hold it, we hereby require at your hands, enjoining on you, by your oath of obedience, that, within forty days after the reception of these letters, all hindrances and delays notwithstanding, you return whole and entire whatever you abstracted either for your own use, or that of your Church. It is highly unjust that one Church should be enriched at the expense of another.....

“Next you insinuate in your letter, nay you expressly assert, that the whole kingdom exclaimed against my promotion, and the Church sighed and groaned over it. Know ye what the word of truth says, ‘The mouth that beliieth slayeth the soul¹.’ Would not even one of the commonalty be ashamed to say such things? and Priests, above all others, are bound to speak the truth. Consult your own consciences; revert to the manner in which the election was conducted; to the unanimity which prevailed in all who had a voice in it; to the assent of the King, given through his son, and confirmed by the chief Nobles of the realm. If any of these opposed or protested at all at the time, let him declare it: but it is not for one man

¹ Wisdom i. 11.

to say that the whole of the kingdom was dissatisfied, because he himself had his own private reasons for dissatisfaction.....]

The latter part of the letter is occupied in defending his late proceedings. In the Bishop of Salisbury's case, he says, no trial was necessary, because the offence was notorious. And lastly, he pronounces the appeal to be illegal, on the ground that nothing had been done as yet to call it forth; and that the Bishops had appealed, not for themselves, but for another party, with whom they had no concern, and for whom therefore they had no right to interpose.

The Bishop of London wrote to the King, replying to those charges in the Archbishop's letter which related to himself.

THE BISHOP OF LONDON, TO THE KING OF ENGLAND¹.

"Your Excellency was pleased to commit to our custody such of the Churches of the Archbishop's Clerics as are situated in Kent, or in the Diocese of London; and we, considering that you were moved to this by a pious anxiety, lest the goods of the Church, the Alms and Tithes, should fall to the administration of laymen, on our part readily undertook the charge, from a feeling, as God knows, of mere disinterested charity, to save your Majesty from transgressing in this particular, and, if possible, to secure the indemnity of the Clerics themselves, in case they ever regained your Majesty's favour by proper submission.

"It seems, however, that the Archbishop, who sits as it

¹ Ep. i. 123.

were in ambush against myself especially, is now seeking to wound me where I was protecting others. He has lately sent me letters, commanding, in virtue of my allegiance, and by the authority of the Holy Spirit, that within forty days of the time I received them, I fail not to make thorough restitution to himself and his. I, on my part, after invoking the aid of the Holy Spirit, have had recourse to an appeal, and, by referring the mandate to the hearing of his Lordship the Pope, have declined it for a while, knowing at the same time that I have to expect this and worse than this at his hands, and the hands of his advisers.

“For this reason I entreat your Highness, confiding in the goodness with which you always hear me, that you will find some other person to be entrusted with the afore-said revenues, and thus disengage me of a load which might encumber my cause in other respects.

“The money which I have received, to the amount of £130. 16s. 6d., I will, with your Highness’s permission, consign to some other Ecclesiastical Dignitary, for the benefit of these ungrateful persons, against the day when God may be pleased to terminate these disputes.

“There remains one point, on which the whole Church of England present their joint petition to your Highness, but more especially such as are most concerned for your preservation and honour. Your Highness’s cause does not appear to be forwarded by a harsh treatment of those whom God has appointed as His household servants, whom He has taken as it were into His family, and made attendants at His own table. In this matter, though none else speak, yet will not I keep silence; though all despair, yet will not I. Absent therefore in the body, yet present in spirit, I entreat you, as you value your salvation, that you cause to be released from confinement and restored to their

several duties, William, late Chaplain to the Archbishop, and many other Clerics through England, whom your officers take on themselves to punish, without either confession, conviction, or even trial. Farewell."

The public acts of the Archbishop were all in the course of the summer confirmed by the Pope; and so far his cause seemed to be prospering. First, the Pope ratified the suspension of the Bishop of Salisbury¹, and the excommunications of Veze-lay². Then toward the end of September, he issued a mandate for restoring to the exiled party the benefices and the proceeds from them, of which they had been unjustly deprived³. And, what was perhaps the most important step of all, as indicating his favourable feelings toward the Archbishop, he now confirmed on him the appointment of Legate for England⁴; which had been his intention for some time back.

John of Salisbury, in writing to his friend the Bishop of Exeter, mentions these events; taking at the same time a rather cheerful survey of the general state of affairs.

¹ Ep. i. 148.

² Ep. i. 118.

³ Ep. i. 119, 120.

⁴ [The Pope's letter to the Archbishop (Ep. i. 115) to this effect, is dated, "Septimo Idus Octobris;" probably the October of 1165; for the letter to the Bishops *announcing* the appointment, (Ep. i. 116) is dated, "octavo Kalendas Maii." The latter would seem to be the one to which John of Salisbury refers, though writing late in September he could hardly treat

JOHN OF SALISBURY, TO THE BISHOP OF EXETER¹.

“ I have a great deal to say, but so little time to say it in, and such a pressure of necessary business besides, that I can give you no more than the heads of it.

“ By God’s blessing my brother arrived a short time since, full of gratitude for your kindness to him ; which has added to the many obligations I am already under to you. But first of all, I should tell you that I heard lately from a most particular friend, who wished to warn me, and, if possible, you through me, that the King has issued orders through Jocelin of Baliol, and other ministers of his pity, to deal with you and his Lordship of Worcester as capital enemies of the realm, and disturbers of public peace. I hope my fears may prove vain ; but whatever the Bishops have said of him in their letter appellatory to the Pope ; whatever they preach of his piety, meekness, justice, affability and reverence for the Priesthood, there is nothing so impious towards God, or so inhuman towards man, that would not readier be believed of him throughout France and Italy².....Your friends might have spared themselves the trouble of forwarding that precious composition, for we should have taken good care that it reached the High Priest of Rome, as a pretty clear proof of the sincerity of the Bishops who attested it, and of the real intention of your scribe ; who, since by God’s ordinance he failed in his attempt to be Archbishop of Canterbury, now by the

an affair of that date as a recent piece of news. But probably the Pope’s letter may not have been publicly given out for some time after its formal date.]

¹ Ep. i. 130. Joan. Saresb. 177.

² Here follows a criticism on the letter of the English Bishops to the Archbishop and to the Pope, extracts from which have been given in the Notes to Ep. i. 161.

power of those who persecute Christ has made himself Arch-synagogue¹. His Lordship the King wrote lately to him by Radulphus de Diceto², his Archdeacon, committing to his disposal himself and his whole realm, and the cause between himself and the Church, as to his Father and most dear friend; and at the same time instructed his officers to obey him always in all points. So if any evil comes on yourself, or your Church, or on his Lordship of Worcester, you must apply to him for redress. Of course he will readily admonish the King for you, and for God's Church; as he has assured us in that notable Epistle of his, which is now going the round of Provinces and Kingdoms, that his Majesty '*thinks it a pleasing attention when he is warned if he does amiss.*'.....

"How true all the boasts are respecting the King's piety and justice, you will be able to guess from the copy I send you of a letter he lately wrote to the Schismatic of Cologne³.

"There have been with him lately, too, from Mont-Ferrat, certain absurd triflers, the Abbot of Sluys, and the Abbot elect of Felo, asking one of the King's daughters for the son of the Marquis, and promising faithfully that in return they will procure the deposition of his Lordship of Canterbury.

"In this hope the King has sent back with them as his envoys John de Cumin, Raoul de Tamworth, and John of

¹ Qui quoniam, Deo aliter disponente, quod ambiebat esse non potuit Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus, in Anglicana Ecclesia de consensu consilio et auctoritate eorum qui Christum persequuntur, factus est *Archi-Synagogus*. [Alluding to the late Assembly (Synagogue) of the Bishops, over which the Bishop of London presided. The "Arch-Synagogue" recurs more than once in John of Salisbury's letters after this time.]

² The Historian—afterwards Dean of St. Paul's.

³ p. 127.

Oxford, whose deposition from his Deanery has now received the written sanction of the Pope¹.

“The writing is in possession of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, and Legate of the Apostolic See. His sentence against the depredators of the Church of Canterbury has likewise received the Pope’s confirmation², and all the Bishops on both sides of the water are ordered to observe it. He has now been appointed Legate over all England, and has written to that effect. His letter will by this time have reached the Bishop of London, who is to send you all a formal notice³.

¹ Ep. i. 149. The Pope to the Archbishop of Canterbury. “Ex rescripto literarum, quas Saresbiensi Episcopo destinasti, cognovimus quod concessionem Decanatus, quam idem Episcopus Joanni de Oxenford enormiter fecit, duplici ratione cassasti. Tum quia idem Joannes schismatis se laqueo involvit; tum etiam quod id contra prohibitionem et mandatum nostrum fuisset factum. Prohibueramus enim ne absque consensu Canonorum tecum et pro te exulantium, Decanus in præscripta Ecclesia, aliqua ratione constitueretur. Unde nos, autoritate qua fungimur, prænominatam concessionem omnino cassamus, et irritam esse decernimus.”

² Ep. i. 118. Quod juxta officii tui debitum circa libertatem Ecclesiæ et jura Ecclesiastica defendenda sollicitus et intentus existis, solitudinis et constantiæ tuæ prudentiam digna laude prosequimur, et eam in hac parte multimodis commendamus. Unde sententiam Ecclesiasticam, quam in Ricardum de Ilchester et Joannem de Oxenford et omnes alios Ecclesiæ Dei perversores rationabiliter promulgasti, nulla ratione immutare curabimus; sed eam potius ratam et firmam auctore Domino habere decrevimus.

³ Ep. i. 122. Extract of a letter, from the Archbishop to the Bishop of London. “Dominus Papa debitam opem libenter impendet, et nobis jam, ut iniquitati possimus efficacius obviare, vices suas commisit in Regno Angliæ, sicut ex literis ejus, quas vobis transmittimus, potestis advertere. Mandamus itaque fraternitati vestræ, et in virtute obedientiæ et in periculo ordinis vestri, Apostolica auctoritate, præcipimus, quatenus eas fratribus et comprovincialibus vestris Episcopis et Dunelmensi

“Moreover the aforesaid Archbishop and Legate has excommunicated, by Apostolic authority, all who blockade the parts to impede either appellants, or persons appealed against, or pilgrims bound for the threshold of the Apostles or of him who is their vicegerent. He has ordered moreover, that all the Bishops cause this sentence to be published through their Dioceses. For though he himself thinks nothing of the appeal which the Bishops have made against him, yet surely those who do attach any importance to it, as, for instance, the King, the Bishops, and the Nobles, who rely on the wisdom of the flesh, ought at least to leave every thing in the state it was. For no innovation is lawful while an appeal is pending. Whereas, subsequently to it, William the Chaplain has been arrested, and other Clerics, not to mention laymen; and Churches have been atrociously spoiled of their goods. For this reason, the Archbishop has denounced the King to his Lordship the Pope, as having brought himself within the Canon, and being *ipso facto* excommunicate; unless indeed the Apostolic See wishes Ecclesiastical laws to resemble Civil, which Anacharsis compares to spiders’ webs, catching flies but letting birds escape. His Lordship the Pope has given orders¹ to the Archbishops of Bourges, Rouen, Bordeaux,

Episcopo ostendatis, adhibita celeritate et diligentia, et easdem postea restitui faciatis.”

It appears that this letter did not reach the Bishop of London till St. Paul’s day. cf. Ep. i. 131.

¹ The same as Ep. i. 120, addressed to the Bishops of the Province of Canterbury. “Quoniam ad omnem cubitum pulvillum supponere non debemus, &c. . . . venerabili fratri nostro Thomæ Cantuarensi Archiepiscopo per scripta nostra dedimus in mandatis ut, si hi, qui sibi in possessionibus et bonis Ecclesiæ suæ, aut suis etiam, violentiam vel injuriam intulerunt, legitime commoniti eisdem ablata restituere et satisfactionem congruam exhibere noluerint, in eos si opportunitatem viderit, Ecclesiasticam justiciam non differat exercere.

Tours, and York, to observe and cause to be observed through their respective Provinces, any sentence which the Archbishop of Canterbury and Legate of the Apostolic See shall pronounce against his enemies, and the enemies of the Church. He added in the same letters, that as to the excommunication of the King in person, he neither commanded nor yet forbade it. He has ordered moreover, on pain of an anathema, that all those who by the King's mandate have received the revenues of the Archbishop's Clerics, make immediate and thorough restitution¹; for that the King, who is now in the predicament of a robber, can give authority to no one.

"I pressed the Archbishop not to make use of these letters, but my advice was overruled by others who urged

"Quocirca Universitati vestræ per Apostolica Scripta mandamus, quatenus justiciam quam prædictus Archiepiscopus vester super hoc rationabiliter duxerit promulgandam, ratam et firmam penitus habeatis, et eam per Parochias vestras faciatis ab omnibus inviolabiliter observari.

"Verum de persona Regis speciale ei mandatum non damus: nec tamen in aliquo jus ei Pontificale, quod in Ordinatione et Consecratione sua suscepit, adimimus, sed et ipsum volumus auctore Domino illæsum et integrum ei conservare. Nos enim exinde quod canonicè fecerit, auctore Domino, ratum et firmum habebimus."

¹ Ep. i. 121. The Archbishop of Canterbury to the Bishop of London and the other English Bishops. "Mittimus vobis literas Domini Papæ, quibus præcepit sub anathematis interminatione ut clericis nostris universa cum integritate reddantur quæ eis ablata sunt, cuicunque commissa sint ex mandato Regis.

"Inde est quod nos, sub eadem interminatione, vobis Apostolica auctoritate præcipiendo mandamus, quatenus, infra duos menses post harum susceptionem, quicquid exinde recepistis nobis restitui faciatis, ne vobis juxta quod Dominus Papa comminatur eveniat.

"Præcipimus etiam ut Parochianos vestros, qui eorum reditus aut bona abstulerunt vel receperunt, ad restitutionem eorum similiter compellatis."

him to take advantage of his privileges, now while the Pope survives ; especially as patience has only served to brutalize the King's inhumanity.

“ However, if this mandate reaches your Lordship, you need give yourself no uneasiness on the score of my revenues, as I readily consign them to your disposal. As long as the office and jurisdiction continues mine, I care little for the rest.

“ I have exculpated you to his Lordship of Canterbury, who readily acquiesces ; so that you need not credit any assertions to the contrary. He is quite aware of the danger of your position, and would on no account expose you to useless trouble. You will best comply with his wishes and mine, by giving each line of conduct a serious consideration, and following what your conscience points out as most acceptable to God. If you are perplexed and have not sight to guide you, follow faith. He sends you letters citatory¹ in the Apostolic name, summoning you, in virtue of your allegiance, and under peril of your order, to appear before him within forty days of the time you receive them, to hear the mandate of his Lordship the Pope, and to consult on the interests of the Church. If your Lordship thinks it expedient to obey, use the mandate as your warrant ; if not, you may consider it as not sent ; for it is not intended as a snare for you.

“ The bearer has received instructions to deliver the letters to M. Baldwin, your Archdeacon, or Robert Fitz-Giles, your brother. You are at liberty to receive or refuse them as you judge best.

“ Be assured that unless William the Chaplain is released, the King will most certainly be anathematized ; and that no allowance will be made in such cases for the future.”

¹ These letters are not among those published by Christianus Lupus. There are, however, more than 100 in the Vatican MS. which have not been published.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE DIFFICULTIES OF THE KING.

WHILE the Archbishop was thus gaining countenance and support from the Pope, Henry was involving himself in quarrels with his neighbours, both at home and on the continent; which could not but put him to a disadvantage in his contest with the Church. How far his perplexities tended to soften or subdue him, we shall be able to judge from the following letters.

JOHN OF SALISBURY, TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY¹.

“.....The time is now at hand, you know, when according to Merlin’s Prophecy, ‘The Eagle of the broken Covenant is to gild the bridle which is being forged in the Armoric gulf for its Boar.’ Since I wrote my last, I have heard for certain that he has sustained a heavy loss in an assault upon Fougères; which is still lamented in these parts by the friends of certain Frenchmen, of whom some

¹ Ep. i. 163. Joan. Saresb. 167. Instat enim tempus, ut aiunt, quando Aquila rupti fœderis, juxta Merlini vaticinium, frænum deauratura est quod Apro ejus datur aut modo fabricatur Sinu Armorico.

were captured and others wounded, while for the pure love of silver they strove to outdo the rest in prowess. I had heard this before, in the Court of the most Christian King of the French at Laon, where I was honourably received by him. But I did not trust a mere report, though it was in some measure confirmed by Earl Robert's¹ manner, which betrayed the annoyance he felt at it. It is said too that the besiegers are half starved, and in want of every thing, while the besieged are full and abound, and are the least in danger of the two. For Raoul, it is said, has stored his castle admirably, and destroyed all the eatables he could discover in his neighbourhood; and they are unable to forage at a distance except in large parties; for the said Raoul has with him a most select band of knights who hedge their ways with thorns, and goad their horses so that the riders fall backwards². They say too that he makes frequent incursions on the main army. It is added that he is engaged in a league offensive and defensive, with the most powerful Nobles of Bretagne, Eudo only excepted.

“ Will not a bridle be now put on this egregious wild beast, this boar who treads down the vineyard of the Lord? I give this as my interpretation of the Prophecy, and wait to see what the gilding will be with which the Eagle over-lays these annoyances³! Unless indeed our friend Alexander⁴, Merlin's relation, in his greater skill thinks other-

¹ The interest Earl Robert took in the prosperity of Henry II. has been explained in a former letter, p. 97.

² *Eo quod electissimorum militum Radulphus præfatus copiam habens, vias eorum acutissimis sepiit spinis, et aculeis urget equos ut cadant ascensores eorum retro.*

³ *Expectans ut aquila quacunq̃ue subornatione incommoditates istas inauaret.*

⁴ This Alexander was a Welshman, and surnamed Lewellin, Fitz-Stephen, p. 80. and Quadril. p. 161. ‘Alexander lingua paterna vocatus Cuelin (Lewellin) sicut natione ita cognomento

wise. But enough of this. I hear that his Lordship of Lyons, whom I very much wish to see, is now with you ; you will oblige me much by offering him congratulations in my name, and also by writing back a full account of your own matters."

A FRIEND, TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY¹.

" I did not see your Lordship's messenger who came to my Lord Nicolas, but Nicolas has sent me his own servant, who is to deliver to you whatever I have to communicate.

" The first thing that occurs to me as having happened since your servant returned, and that is now some time back, took place at Caen, when the King was there about some business concerning the King of Scotland : Richard de Humet ventured to say something that seemed like favouring the Scotch, and the King broke into open abuse², calling him a traitor outright ; in his fit of passion he flung down his cap, undid his belt, threw from him his pall and robes, tore the silk covering off his couch, and sitting down as if on a dunghill, began to chew stalks of straw.

" The next day, when he was in the meadow by the Chapel, and Richard of Ilchester was wishing to approach

Wallensis. Edoctus quidem in literis, jocundus in verbis, et in verbis jocundis multus ; cujus tamen non omnis virtus in ore ipsius.' The length of his Welsh pedigree seems to have been a joke against him with the Archbishop and John of Salisbury.

¹ Ep. i. 44.

² Rex itaque solito furore succensus pileum de capite projecit, baltheum discinxit, pallium et vestes quibus erat indutus longius abjecit, stratum sericum quod erat suprà lectum manu propriâ removit, et quasi in sterquilinio sedens cæpit straminis manducare festucas.

him, some Templars advanced to meet him, and after taking off their helmets, would have offered the kiss ; but in the sight of every one, the King bade them keep at a distance, for that he did not wish they should kiss an ex-communicate.

“ After this, when the King was gone to Toucques, the Bishop of Lisieux met him, and on the pretext of poverty, asked for a licence to quit the country for a year, and thus obtain respite from his creditors. On his return, he said he hoped to retire to a religious house. The King looked at him and said, ‘ Truly your looks are altered more than you are aware of, and I see that you are no longer equal to fatigue ; but you shall not leave my country for want. I myself will speak to your creditors, and do what I can to relieve you from such annoyance for the future.’ Of his own he promised nothing, but said he would use his influence with others.

“ Soon after, the King had a conference with the Earl of Flanders, and your Lordship knows the result. He pledged himself to pay Matthew, Earl of Boulogne, 1000 marks a year. Here it was, that his Lordship the Pope’s messenger was taken ; he is still imprisoned and in chains. Here too the Lord saved M. Herbert out of the hands of his pursuers. Surely he should not have exposed himself so, on a matter of such little consequence.

“ On the King’s return to Rouen, he sent for the Archbishop and the Bishop of Lisieux. They remonstrated with him for seizing the Pope’s messenger, and for having shown such indignation at Geoffrey Ridel’s¹ chaplain, for

¹ The Archdeacon of Canterbury. The letter delivered on this occasion to his Chaplain was probably Ep. i. 99, in which the Archbishop reminds him of a former summons to appear before him within forty days, “ *satisfactorus pro Officii debito* ;” and now calls on him again, “ *responsurum de inobedientia et*

having received your Lordship's letters without detaining the bearer. Then also the Archbishop explained more fully the contents of the Pope's letters¹ on your behalf, which he had received long since; and expostulated with him gently in his own way. The King said he had known it all along and cared little for it.

"In the meantime M. Raynald, Chaplain to the Dean of Tours arrived, and sought occasion frequently to rebuke the King in plain terms, and to ascertain how he meant to act. But the King made a joke of the Pope's prosperity and tranquil state of the Court, and would hear nothing on the subject.

"After this the King returned to Caen, and when the Bishop of Lisieux again asked for a licence to leave the country, he enquired seriously what were the amount of his debts. The Bishop said 200 marks were the least that would enable him to stay. The King said he had not so much by him, but that night sent him 60. Would that he had not received it! The King will trust him more in consequence, and he, as I fear, will be more faithful in his infidelity.

"About this time too Alfred, Chaplain of the Bishop of Hereford, came to the King, to inform him that, unless his Majesty would interfere with advice and assistance, his own Bishop and Lord Roger² must leave England in compliance with your Lordship's orders. On this the King spoke very bitterly of Lord Roger, and instead of advice

satisfactorum de communicatione excommunicatorum;" concluding thus, "*hujus rei exequendæ damus tibi diem peremptorium, quadragesimum equidem a præsentatis tibi literis nostris, sive fraude tua minus a te receptis, sive presumptione refutatis.*"

It appears from the next letter, i. 45, that on receiving this summons the Archdeacon appealed.

¹ Ep. i. 90.

² [The Archbishop of York.]

sent him a prohibition, saying that there could be no possible reason for crossing the water, as long as the appeal lasted. He added that they were at liberty to cross, but not to recross.

“These are the principal things that have happened in our parts.

“As to the future, on the octave of St. Martin’s the King is to speak with Earl Theobald¹ at Tours: the 500 marks which he promised annually, he will pay for this year, and make mention of it for the next. The Sunday following he will be at Chinon, and have a conference with the Poitains and others about the adjacent territories. He will be at Rouen on the Feast of St. Andrew, in readiness to meet the Earl of Flanders, and guarantee to the Earl of Boulogne the 1000 marks per annum in payment for peace. He has asserted and sworn, that he will go no farther in that matter.

“The King then has all this upon his hands, and hardly knows what to do, trusting more to chance than any thing. The sole support of his fortitude is the hope,

¹ Theobald, Earl of Blois and Chartres, second son of Theobald, Earl of Champagne, commonly called “the great.” Henry II., as Earl of Anjou, held the Earldom of Tours under him, and did homage to him for it.—(Ep. Joan. Saresb. 268.)

The subordination of the Earldom of Tours to that of Blois and Chartres is explained thus.

In 1044 the Earldom of Tours, which had been forfeited in a rebellion, was conferred by the King of France on Godfrey Martel or Tudes, Earl of Anjou: who on his death in 1060, left it to his son, Godfrey the bearded. In 1068, Godfrey was assailed and imprisoned by his brother Fulke, and was liberated and re-instated in his rights by Stephen, Earl of Blois and Chartres, under sanction of Philip I. In requital for his service, Godfrey ceded Chateau Landon to Philip, and did homage to Stephen. After which the Earls of Anjou held Tours, under the Earls of Chartres and Blois, instead of under the King as formerly. [Hoffman voce Turonia.]

either that his Lordship the Pope may go the way of all flesh, or, which God forbid, that something' may take off your Lordship.

“Now therefore, my Lord, while the time allows you, stretch forth the arm of retribution, and recollect who hath said, ‘*quia retribuit Dominus abundanter facientibus superbiam.*’ Let your sentence overtake God’s enemies: bruise the writhing head of the serpent: tread Satan under your feet: for peace will never be restored to God’s Church, except with a mighty hand and an outstretched arm. Rise, my Lord; bend your bow; shoot forth your arrows till they are destroyed. Unhallowed is that loyalty which is disloyal towards God; perverse the fealty which opposes faith¹. Rise therefore, keep not silence. The sheep wander when the shepherd calls not. Call then on all over whom you have authority: make them to come forth out of the midst of Babylon. Better were it to die in battle with your Lordship, than to witness the sufferings of their country and of the Saints. Call on them, I repeat it; and if they disobey their shepherd let them feel their judge.

“May your holiness fare well for many days; and believe me ready to obey you at all times and in all things.

“Farewell again and ever.”

NICOLAS OF ROUEN, TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF
CANTERBURY².

“Your Lordship will not I hope suppose that the delay of my answer has arisen from any remissness on my part. The fact is, that nothing has arisen worth mention-

¹ Impium est ibi esse pium ubi Dei pietas annullatur: male fidelis est qui Fidei jura non servat.

² Ep. i. 45.

ing to your Lordship since I wrote last. You know, I conclude, in what a strait the messenger was, who delivered the letter to the King¹. His fingers were thrust into his eyes, as if to tear them out, till the blood flowed : and hot water was forced down his throat, till he confessed that the letter came from M. Herbert. He is not yet released from prison, though the King has received an order to that effect from his mother.

“ On the octave² of St. Martin’s, I hear, the King and Earl Theobald are to have a conference at Tours. On the Feast of St. Andrew he is to come to us to meet the Earl of Flanders.

“ We hear from England that the Bishop of Lincoln and Earl Geoffrey³ have paid the debt of the flesh. They say too that Richard de Luci has taken the sign of the Cross, and is going to Jerusalem.

“ As to the rest, be assured that no one is forthcoming to say a good word to the King on your behalf. He took the seal from M. Walter⁴ for not detaining the messenger

¹ Satis enim etiam apud vos credimus esse cognitum, puerum, qui Regi literas tradidit, in arcto fuisse positum, digitis ad oculos eruendos apposis usque ad effusionem sanguinis, et aqua calida per os injecta, donec confiteretur, &c.

² Nov. 18.

³ Earl of Leicester.

⁴ Walter de Lisle. John of Salisbury writing to him about this time, and speaking of the hard measure dealt to himself and his fellow exiles, says,—“ In quo et te dilectissime nos gaudeamus habere consortem : non quidem tuo, quod nefas esset, insultantes rejectui, sed congratulantes virtuti. Nam et tu fidei tuæ fecisti fidem, et temporalium jacturam contempsisti dum sectareris honestatem et satisfaceres charitati.... Evangelicum implevisti virum pro fratre animam ponens, dum te pro Justitia maluisti condemnari, quam alium, cui virtus obedientiæ reputanda videbatur in crimine, si verum fateretur, accusari.... Deus mihi testis, quoniam doleo tibi.... Regis sigillum esse subtractum ? Sed fateor.... quia malo te in hac conditione versari, quam illud perfidiæ æredemisse.” Ep. i. 93.

that brought the letters. But afterwards he returned it to the Archdeacon. The Archdeacon himself appealed on the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin¹, declaring in the presence of his Lordship of Rouen and many others that he would send you letters to that effect. No public notice has yet been taken of the Pope's command² to his Lordship of Rouen and his suffragans about rebuking the King; perhaps though they have spoken in secret.

“Your Lordship should know that the Master of the house of the infirm at Canterbury has been here lately, and told us that the Bishop of London has paid over to the treasury all the sequestered revenues of your Clergy³. He said too that the Prior of Canterbury had put under custody a monk, who had got out of the cloister quadrangle, to spread about every where, who were on your side and against the King.

“Your servant Scaiman after having been taken, made his escape, and lay hid some days in the Monastery of St. Trinity. Where he went afterwards I know not⁴.

“I hear too that the King's Knights are rebuilding and fortifying Basingwerk, on account of a late incursion from Wales, in which many had been killed and nearly all wounded.

“May your Holiness fare well.”

It seems to have been under a sense of the grow-

¹August 15. ²Ep. i. 90.

³Ep. i. 123. In which the Bishop in great perplexity requests the King to appoint a new receiver, p. 189.

⁴He seems to have been given up to the King's Officers by the State party in the Convent. John of Salisbury in writing not long after this to W. Brito, the Subprior, reproaches them for their conduct, “*diligentem adhibendo custodiam ne quocunque casu evaderet, qui de manu carnificum elapsus convolverat ad nostrorum præsidia Patronorum.*” Ep. i. 154.

ing difficulties of his situation, as these letters have described them, joined to the Pope's known intentions in favour of the Archbishop, that Henry wrote the following complaining letter to the Cardinals.

HENRY II., TO THE CARDINALS¹.

“ In reply to the statements, which his Holiness the Pope has made to your Lordships, respecting our supposed defection from the Church of Rome, we appeal to the exhibition of sincere attachment which, as your Lordships' Wisdoms well know, we have at all times shown towards that Church and to the person of his Holiness, and to all that we have done and suffered in his cause. To omit other things, we would advert to the fact, that when his right of succession was controverted we did not follow others in acknowledging him, but ourself led the way and drew others after us, though against their will.

“ Nor have we at all receded from the fulness of our affection, but rather himself has done so, who, as your Lordships know, has for some time back molested us beyond measure, (as many of his acts declare), and who now in word, in deed, and moreover in writing, a thing especially offensive to Princes, ceases not to defame our character, and both in his writings and words denotes us as a persecutor and tormentor of the Church.

“ Let his Lordship the Pope reflect with what Fatherly consideration he has dealt with us, in warning us that it should be a special care of Princes to preserve their fame unsullied, and then doing his best to sully it himself.

“ One thing however we wish your Lordships to know, that whatever belongs to us of honour, exaltation, and

¹ Ep. ii. 41.

power, our Kingdom and all in it committed to our governance, we know and acknowledge severally as gifts of the Lord our Creator, and that to Him alone do we refer our thanks ; such, not indeed as we owe Him, since for that we are not sufficient, but such as we can give. And would that our Lord the Pope would entreat the Lord for us, to instruct and strengthen us to repay this debt of devotion and reverence, and to serve Him and to love Him, even to the third portion of what is due from us ! For in truth although we are not able to love and venerate Him as we ought, yet our devoted intention is in each thing to serve Him, [in all things to be dutiful, in no case to disobey.]

“ With regard to his Lordship the Pope, we are willing to preserve our gratitude and affection towards him entire, if he on his part is mindful to conserve for ourself and our Realms those same honours and dignities, which holy and upright Roman Pontiffs have exhibited to the great and mighty men our predecessors. The appeals which he asserts we have prohibited, and the pilgrimages, which he says we do not permit to be made from our country to the Court of Rome, have no further been hindered by us, as we wish your Wisdoms to observe, than was customary in the times of the illustrious men our predecessors, according to the ancient Usages and Dignities of the Realm, as collected from the statements of our eldest and wisest subjects, both Clergy and Laity. As to the confederacy which he accuses us of having made with excommunicates, in this matter, we do not conceive ourselves to have offended God, or acted unreasonably. For we had heard from his Lordship the Pope’s own mouth, that he did not regard Lord Frederic, the Roman Emperor, as excommunicate, nor had any report afterwards reached us of his excommunication. Moreover, though we may have granted our daughter to the Emperor’s son in marriage, neither in this part

do we consider ourselves to have transgressed even one tittle, but doubt not that the act was lawful. For as we remember the same thing was permitted to that most Excellent and Puissant Prince Henry our Grandfather, who united his daughter in marriage to Henry of blessed memory, then Roman Emperor. We therefore arguing from the practice of our predecessors, after taking counsel with our wise men, consented to a contract between our own Daughter and the Emperor's son.

“ As to the other point on which he has written to us, demanding the recall of the Archbishop of Canterbury, whom he asserts us to have banished, and his reinstatement in his See ; we are very sure it is well known to your Lordships, that we have never banished him nor compelled him to leave our kingdom ; but that he himself of his own caprice or perverseness, and without any intelligible reason betook himself to flight, with the settled purpose and intention of aspersing ourself and our good name in a way which, as all know, we little deserved from him. If however this same Archbishop, as of his proper pleasure he fled, so shall please voluntarily to return, and shall act towards us as he ought towards his Lord and Prince ; we on our part, according to the counsel of our Clergy and Laity on this and the other side the water, will act towards him as shall be right. But we do not think it our business to recall one whom we never ordered to depart.

“ Finally if it shall appear to your Lordships that in any of these particulars we have either exceeded or fallen short of our duty, we shall have pleasure in correcting it with the advice of our Clergy and Barons, according to the Usages, Dignities, and Privileges of our Realm. If however, any one shall attempt to let, hinder or diminish ought from the Rights, Usages and Dignities of our Realm, him we shall esteem for a public and avowed enemy of our

Name, Honour, and Kingdom: nor, while life lasts, will we endure any diminution of the Dignities and Usages of our Realm, which the illustrious men our predecessors have enjoyed and maintained under Holy Roman Pontiffs.

“In respect to the intimations he has conveyed to us through your Lordships, forbidding us to aggrieve or permit to be aggrieved the Churches and Church Dignitaries of our Realm and Territory; God and a clear conscience bear us witness, that to this day we have neither done nor permitted it!”

Henry soon found an occasion of venting his displeasure, in a more practical way than by letter: i. e. by an attack on the monastic body, on whose charity the Archbishop and his companions in exile had been hitherto supported. Up to the present time, Becket himself and a numerous retinue, had been lodged and liberally provided for in the Cistercian monastery at Pontigni: in consequence of which, a notice was now sent out, threatening the Order with the dissolution of all their monasteries in the King's territories, if this hospitality was persisted in. This alarmed the monks of Pontigni, who, over and above their fear of offending the King, perhaps hardly thought themselves at liberty to hazard the safety of their brethren in another country by any private proceeding of their own; and were naturally unwilling to incur the odium which such conduct would probably draw down upon them from their whole Order. They had received, it would seem, strong intimations to this effect from the neighbouring monastery of

Citeaux. Indeed such was the anxiety of the Cistercians, as a body, to pacify Henry, that a brother was actually punished, for being found engaged in the Archbishop's service¹. The Pope here however interfered in behalf of the exiles; and expressly forbade the Monks of Pontigni from acting on the ungenerous advice which had been given them²; ordering their brethren of Citeaux at the same time to abstain from giving such advice for the future³. But the Archbishop, as might be expected, felt a delicacy in staying where his presence was a source of danger to his hosts; and eventually, though not just at present, he quitted Pontigni⁴,

¹ Ep. i. 92. [Alexander Papa Abbatibus et Fratribus Cisterciensis Ordinis. "Ad audientiam nostram, unde satis mirari compellimur, pervenisse noscatis, quod vos dilecto filio nostro R. fratri vestro, quoniam venerabilis frater noster Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus ipsum in Angliam pro negotiis Ecclesiæ destinavit, pœnam infligere proposuistis.—Quoniam autem hoc in nostram et Ecclesiæ Dei injuriam redundaret, mandamus, quatenus memorato R. nullam occasione ista pœnam infligere, vel ei rancorem aliquem vel indignationem ostendere præsumatis, sed ipsum benigne inter vos et fraterne tractetis.]

² Ep. i. 81.

³ Ep. i. 82.

⁴ [The Quadrilogue gives the following account of his taking leave: "Cum itaque territorium Senonense petens, vale jam se deducantibus facturus esset, erupit in lachrymas, quas increpans venerabilis Abbas loci inquit: *Quid agis? Miror virum invictæ constantiæ femineam in molliem degenerare. Nunquid rei familiaris necessitas majores expensas exproscit? An comitatus rarior, et famulatus minor lachrymas istas excutiunt? Si quid tua poscit indigentia quod nostra facultas supplere possit, ostendatur, et fiet.* Respondit igitur Archiepiscopus: *Nihil istorum: sed quæ de me sunt finem habent.* Dominus

having previously made his situation known to the King of France, who on hearing of it expressed his surprise that such treatment should have proceeded from the Cisterrians, men who had given up the luxuries and even the comforts of life, and who, as they had nothing to suffer from the world, ought to have had nothing to fear from it¹. By him the Archbishop was assigned a lodging in the city of Sens, only twelve miles distant from Pontigni; where he was received with open arms by both clergy and people, and where he continued to reside throughout the remainder of his exile.

These however were only passing discomforts;

servo suo vitæ finem, finisque modum, in visu præteritæ noctis præostendere dignatus est. Gladium spiculatoris subterfugere non potero. Subridens Abbas inquit: Ergo martyrio interibis? Quid esculento, temulento, et Martyri? Non bene conveniunt nec in unâ sede morantur calix vini quem potas et calix Martyrii. Archiepiscopus inquit: Fateor, corporeis voluptatibus indulgeo; bonus tamen Dominus, qui justificat impium, indigno dignatus est revelare mysterium.” Quadril. p. 86.]

¹ [“Quod cum audisset Rex, plurimum admiratus est, et mox suis, qui aderant, totum retulit quod audierat. Et iterando sic omnibus audientibus inquit: *O Religio, O Religio ubi es? Ecce enim, quos credebamus sæculo mortuos, sæculi minas timent. Et pro rebus caducis, quas se propter Deum contempsisse profitentur, a Dei opere quod cæperant convertuntur retrorsum, Dei causâ exulantem ejicientes a se. Et convertens sermonem ad eum, qui missus fuerat, inquit: Saluta Dominum tuum Archipræsulem, et fiducialiter ipsi meo nomine nuncia, quod, si mundus, et etiam qui videntur mundo mortui eum deserant, ego tamen eum non deseram.”* Quadril. p. 85.]

and the situation meanwhile of the opposite party, was growing more difficult as the time advanced. The period of the appeal was now drawing to its close ; and some of the Bishops on Henry's side, in consequence, fearing the Primate's displeasure when their present security should have ceased, had expressed themselves ready to obey his summons, or send envoys in their stead. Henry could not act without his Bishops : the help of a strong party in the Church was necessary to his cause ; and therefore, unless some new step were taken, and a new footing given to the contest, it seemed probable that he must before long recede from his claims.

CHAPTER IX.

THE FIRST LEGATINE COMMISSION.

SUCH was the general aspect of affairs toward the latter part of the year 1166; when a scheme was set on foot of instituting a Legatine Commission, for the purpose of examining and deciding the points at issue, between Henry and the Archbishop. Henry had the art of extricating himself from difficulties; and this expedient won, it appears, from the Pope, by his ambassador at the Court of Rome, John of Oxford¹, was sufficient to turn the balance of affairs in his favour.

The leading part in the proposed commission was to be given to Cardinal William of Pavia, a man of Henry's own choice and recommendation; indeed every art had been adopted to procure his appointment. He is described as a person of plausible address, but self-interested and insincere; and always ready to side with station and power, as he had already shown in his own city, where, during the late troubles connected with the Papal See, he

¹ Ep. ii. 102.

had taken part, tacitly at least, with the Schismatical Emperor, and the Antipope Octavian. He was also a particular friend of the Bishop of London¹, and had adopted the same religious profession and ecclesiastical views, which have been already noticed as the characteristics of the latter and his party. Under such a head, there appeared a strong prospect of the Commission turning out a mere party arrangement, representing almost exclusively Henry's side of the question; and therefore likely in every way to compromise the cause of the Church, should it be constituted with sufficient powers.

The means by which this new measure was obtained, will appear more fully hereafter: but so much is evident from the next letter; that the Pope was most anxious about this time to obtain money, to carry on his war with the Emperor. His affairs had been for some time on the advance; and it seemed as if a strong effort would now end the struggle in his favour. But a strong effort could not be made without farther supplies, and thus the Pope's very success was an inducement at this time to compromise and concession; because the greater the success, the more important it became to follow it up, and allow the enemy no time for recovering himself. The interests of a remoter portion of the Church were made to give way to interests nearer home, to the wants and necessities of the Roman

¹ [Vide p. 44.]

See : and perhaps it was thought not a disadvantageous result, even for the Church as a whole, if the Head were benefitted, though at the expense of one of the members. Something of this policy is observable in the general line pursued by the Roman Court throughout the present contest. It had conducted the war with Frederic Barbarossa from the first, and was still following it up with great vigour : so much so, that early in the following year, we find the Pope anathematizing him, stripping him of his royal titles and dignities, and absolving his subjects from their allegiance. But grievances which lay at a distance, and pressed only on a particular branch of the Church, were felt less sensibly. The Archbishop and his friends were not ignorant of the disposition of the Roman Court in this respect ; and accordingly, often rested their appeals to it for assistance, on this very ground¹ ; viz. the danger that would result to the Papal power itself, if Henry's inroads upon the Church in England were connived at.

The letter which has been referred to, dates some time prior to the present point of our history. It seems to have come from Cologne ; and was written probably by Gerard Pucelle, a friend of John of Salisbury and the Archbishop's, who maintained a measured kind of intercourse with the Schismatical party in Germany², under the notion

¹ Ep. i. 165, 135. ii. 74. iv. 12, &c.

² Gerard, as we shall see, was very strictly dealt with by the Court of Rome, for this piece of laxity. vide i. 173 & seq.

of exerting an advantageous influence upon them, his own views being in favour of the Archbishop. He writes to give notice of two Cardinals, who are coming into France on Papal business.

M. GERARD¹, TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

“The King of England has written to his Lordship of Cologne, that Henry of Pisa and William of Pavia are coming to France to make new exactions, and scrape and collect together from all quarters to support his Lordship the Pope in the city. One, as your Lordship knows, is light and capricious, the other crafty and intriguing, and both are greedy and avaricious: presents will easily shut their eyes, and reconcile them to any wickedness.

“Since I heard of this detestable mission, I have felt uneasy about your Lordship’s cause; and strongly advise you so to deal with them through the King of France and the brethren of Cîteaux, as to leave them no choice, whatever may be their wish to act dishonestly.

“The Pope seems now sure of success in Italy. The son of the King of Sicily is seated firmly in his Father’s throne, and will attend his Holiness’s bidding in all things. As to the Princes of Germany, the wrath of God has manifested itself among them. Many Chiefs have conspired against the Duke of Saxony. The Emperor is trying to make peace between them. His Lordship of Cologne has receded from his alliance with the Duke, and joined the adverse party. Moreover, he has just been seized with an intermitting fever, which came on so violently just as he had collected his soldiers, and was setting

¹ Ep. i. 111. In the original it is John of Salisbury; but this is obviously a mistake.

out for Italy, that there seems to be no chance of his going before the winter. In his illness he has given me a promise, that in case he does not go to Italy himself, then, whether the Emperor goes or not, he will consign himself into the hands of the brethren of Citeaux, and of the King of France, and your Lordship's, and will make his peace with Pope Alexander. He means to manage this in such a way, that he shall seem driven to it by his Clergy. I write this as in confession to my Father and Lord, that it may remain a secret with your Lordship till we see how it turns out. If I can disengage myself from my debts, I will return to you without invitation. In the meantime, if you think I can be of use in any thing, I shall always be ready to attend you. Farewell."

This letter was sent to John of Salisbury, and by him forwarded to the Archbishop. The former thus acknowledges M. Gerard's services, giving him at the same time some additional news on the subject of his suspicions.

JOHN OF SALISBURY, TO M. GERARD¹. ON OR SHORTLY
BEFORE OCT. 1.

"I have forwarded your letter to his Lordship of Canterbury, but your Messenger cannot stay with me beyond St. Remy's² day, and no answer has yet arrived from him. You may be sure however that he feels much obliged for your activity, and when an opportunity offers, God willing, he will show it. As you wish to know how he fares, rest assured that what he has gained in virtue and learning is far more than he has been spoiled of by the King's wick-

¹ Ep. i. 168. Joan. Saresb. 178.

² Oct. 1.

edness and that of the Co-malignants¹. His Primacy has been anew confirmed, and the Archbishop of York has been commanded to recognise and submit to it. He is likewise Legate of all England excepting the Diocese of York ; which is not at present placed under our jurisdiction because the Archbishop of York is Legate of Scotland, and it is not customary to subject the Church of one Legate to the Legantine jurisdiction of another while his commission lasts. This however does not release him from subjection due on other grounds.

“ Our King is petitioning that William of Pavia and another Cardinal may be sent as Legates, in hopes that they will settle this cause to his liking. But his own unjust and outrageous doings have raised an effectual barrier against his success. If you possibly can, you will do a service by inducing his Lordship of Cologne, as the King’s friend and adviser, to withstand him to the face, and point out the difficulties of his case. For neither justice, nor common sense, nor law, nor canon, can compel his Lordship of Canterbury to enter on this cause, spoiled as he has been after an appeal. Obviously he has a right to claim, as a first step, thorough restitution and absolute peace, and much besides which the Canons on this subject direct to be carefully looked to. The sum due to him and his on this head amounts to more than ten thousand marks ; and till this should be paid in full, no law could take hold of him, even if there were some justice on the side of his persecutors.

“ Here then is a wide field open for your diplomacy, if by

¹ Hoc autem de statu ipsius vobis indubitanter constat : quoniam pluris est, quod in virtutibus et literis acquisivit, quam quod ei Regis et co-malignantium sibi extorsit improbitas. Cf. Ep. Joan. Saresb. 150. ‘ Et proculdubio Domino Cantuariensi quod ad literaturam et mores plurimum profuit exilium istud.’

any chance you can persuade him through your friend of Cologne, to desist from these outrages, which give his adversaries so many handles against him. A short time since the Bishop of Chichester tried this, telling the King that he was the best supporter the Archbishop had; ‘For,’ said he, when asked what he meant, ‘you put him in the right by your own violent proceedings; and, whatever were the merits of your own cause, you smother them. You provide him too with the counsel and assistance of the best or some of the best Clerics in your Dominions, by driving them into exile with him, and not permitting their return.’ The King was moved at this, and betrayed his solicitude with sighs; but wrath prevailed over wisdom.

“To go to another point: you know you once had a friend in the King of France; and you cannot tell what the future may bring about; so, whether he is offended at your departure or not, I advise you to present him some little token from you, in the one case to recover his favour, or in the other to renew it. There is nothing however which would do so much for you with himself and the whole French Church, and even the Romans, as to make it known that, as becomes a philosopher and a Christian, you bear your testimony to the truth, preferring honesty to the wealth of Cræsus and all manner of delicacies. If a moralist and a heathen could so well say in praise of literature

‘Quia vatis avarus

Haud temere est animus,’

ought not a Philosopher and a herald of the Gospel to be ashamed of encumbering himself with this world’s goods? But I hope in the Lord, that in some counsel or inquisition, or in some other way as He sees best, He will give you an opportunity to speak truth in the ears of Princes,

to their souls' good and yours. The Spirit of your Father will give it vigour.

“ Nor let it retard your efforts, if you fancy you see in the Church of Rome much that is reprehensible ; you know the faithful are commanded in the Gospel not to imitate the works of them that sit in Moses' seat, but to fulfil their doctrine.

“ Farewell, and, as a friend ought, remember one who never forgets you.”

The prospect of the new Commission excited, as we might expect, considerable apprehensions in the Archbishop and his party ; and letters of remonstrance were sent to the Pope¹, entreating him to pause, before he allowed of such undue influence being exerted by the King's envoy, John of Oxford, on his Holiness's counsels. The Archbishop, in his letter, expresses the greatest reluctance to submit the cause of the Church to a secondary court ; or to any one's judgment, short of the Head of the Church himself. To the same effect he writes to Henry of Pisa, one of the Cardinals mentioned in M. Gerard's letter ; and to Cardinals Hyacinth and Boso, the former of whom had been his friend at the Court of Rome from the commencement of the struggle². The reasons of this reluctance it is not difficult to understand ; even looking only to the principle of a Commission itself, distinct from the persons who were to be

¹ [Ep. ii. 74. from the Bishop of Chartres, afterwards Archbishop of Sens, is on this subject.]

² Ep. i. 3, 22.

chosen to fill it. As matters then stood, a Commission could hardly but be considered as an evasive measure, meant to appease Henry for the time by a certain amount of concession, while it removed the responsibility of such a course one step from the Head of the Church, and so prevented the Church as a whole from being committed by it. Indeed the mere fact of the Pope avoiding interposition in person, and transferring his part in the matter to others, seemed to betray a desire that something should be done, which would not reflect much credit on the doer. And this could not fail to produce a corresponding effect upon the Legates who were appointed; who would know the line marked out for them, and would regard themselves in consequence only as instruments to gain an object, which had already been determined on. There was nothing unreasonable then in Becket and his friends being afraid of committing the cause of the Church to this equivocal tribunal; which seemed constituted so as not to be answerable strictly for its own acts, and which was doubly suspicious also in consequence of the personal character and views of the proposed Legates.

The following are the letters referred to.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, TO THE POPE¹.

“The King of England abuses the Church’s patience
.....First of all, because we ventured, in discharge of our

¹ Ep. i. 129.

office, and from a fear of provoking God's judgment against us, to speak out in defence of justice, we were held up to danger and insult as an arrow to a mark. Then we were driven into exile, and all our connexions with us, Cleric and lay, women and infants, young and old, in disregard alike of rank, and sex, and age: of these many have died in exile, and since they suffered innocently for righteousness, are, as we trust, flown away to rest, where, with the Elect, they receive the reward of their labours. The greater part are now waiting the mercy of the Lord in hunger and thirst, in cold and nakedness: others are bound in chains; and among them a holy man, one of our Chaplains¹; who, with the King's knowledge and consent, had remained in England; but now, since that so-called appeal, is by his own command afflicted in a dungeon. All this we endured, in hopes that the patience of our meekness might in some measure mitigate his wrath. But the greater our endurance, the more savage has been his cruelty. He now openly professes that nothing shall satisfy him, unless the Church is delivered over to his will, and those Usages of his, yea perversities, opposed alike to the Laws, the Canons, and the Gospel, recognised by all, with your Holiness's sanction. And because we on our part do not acquiesce, but preach obedience to God rather than man, he seeks our life to take it away, and with it the liberty of the Church, and the privileges of the Apostolic See.

“ With this purpose, a short time since, before the Chapter of Citeaux, he denounced war against the whole order, threatening to exterminate all their houses throughout his territories, unless I, exiled as I² am, and proscribed

¹ William, mentioned in the Bishop of London's letter to Henry, p. 190.

² The singular pronoun is in the Latin.

in the cause of God, and of the Church of Rome, and of the Clerical order, am through their means cast out from the Monastery of Pontigni, against the wishes of the Abbot and the Brethren ; who in deference to your Holiness's request, and at the instance of the most Christian King of France and his Nobles, have exhibited to me and mine the most kind and liberal attention, and if they might, are desirous to continue it. The Most High recompense them !

“ And yet, though myself and our little ones, who have preferred faith to riches and delicacies, are thus cast down and trampled under foot for the Church's liberty, there are found Bishops on each side the water to support him with their counsels, wise above others to do evil, and eloquent to unteach the law. These are his tongue, these his pen ; confiding in these, his abettors boast that they will pierce us with our own weapons, overwhelm us with our own spoils. *Habent fiduciam quod Jordanis influat in ora eorum.* Their reward be according to their deeds ! As for us, by God's mercy, St. Peter, with whom and for whom we fight, will deliver us, through your Holiness, with a mighty arm.

“ We have declared to the wicked man his wickedness, nor can his blood be required at our hands. Your Holiness, too, has raised your voice of menace, if even so you might save him from the snare of damnation. But himself deaf to every warning from the Lord, has, by laying violent hands on a Priest, now rushed headlong into it ; and while he assails the Law and sets at nought the Gospel, casts his lot with Schismatics, communicates with them, and contracts all manner of wicked obligations, has deliberately, with his eyes open, incurred the sentence of *anathema*. For he knows well, that whosoever lays violent hands on the person of a Cleric, is excommunicated *ipso*

facto. May it then please your Holiness to administer the remedy for these so great disorders ; and in consideration for the afflicted Church, to compel him by the rigours of justice to seek for absolution, who, by his temerity and contempt of law, has anathematized himself.

“ The Bishop of London has usurped a rank in England, inconsistent alike with ancient usage, and eternal justice. He boasts that no mandate or decree can be issued in any part of our Province except through himself, to the disgust of others who ill brook his Pharisaical haughtiness. This tumour we at first overlooked, then checked it with a rebuke ; but as the evil only hardens, we shall not be able long to withhold correction. May my Lord restrain the tongue of London from evil, and the lips of Lisieux that they speak no guile, to the destruction of themselves and of him they counsel.

“ John of Oxford presumes to appear in your Holiness’s presence ; and, as if he had done some great thing in taking an oath before Schismatics to perpetrate schism, is now on his way to the Apostolic See, which his perjury failed to overthrow, but which he hopes his insincere purgation may deceive. Surely your Holiness will send him back with the mark of the beast branded on his forehead. If not, we shall fear for the honour of the Apostolic See, and the safety of the Church. What remains will be stated verbally by our envoys, for whom we solicit your Holiness’s confidence.

“ May it please your Holiness not to expose our innocence to peril at the hands of my Lord William of Pavia, through whom our persecutors boast that they will cause us to be deposed. Whether he is to come with such powers we know not, but this we know, that unless compelled by your Holiness, we shall never trust ourself to any judge except your Holiness. Your Holiness may remember, if

it pleases you, with what charity and uprightness certain persons have walked with us, justifying the cause of him who persecutes the Church, against whom heaven and earth cry out.

“Far be it from the Church of God, that such things should be accomplished, as a Presbyter Cleric of the above-named, our friend and Lord, but just now has promised to the King of England, that as Legate he will determine the cause at issue between us to the King’s liking.

“The brother of the Priest who is in chains, will communicate the rest.

“May it please your Holiness to compassionate ourself and them, and the whole Church of God.”

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, TO HENRY OF PISA¹.

“From the letters which we forward to his Lordship the Pope, and from conversation with the bearer, who is brother to the incarcerated Priest, your Lordship will readily understand the position of our cause, yea truly your own cause and the cause of the whole Church of God. It remains now for your Lordship’s Wisdom to check this fearful disease, and by timely counsel and assistance, to render these wicked attempts abortive.

“We have ourself deferred pronouncing against the King the anathema which he has merited, and for which his unceasing aggressions cry aloud; but he, by laying violent hands on Christ’s Priests, and despoiling the Church of liberty and property, has hurled the sentence against himself. For the Canon excepts neither Prince nor Potentate, but includes like offenders in a like punishment. Unless indeed your Lordships wish Ecclesiastical Laws to resemble Civil, which Anacharsis compares to

¹ Ep. ii. 73.

spiders' webs, catching flies but letting birds escape. But not so the Law of the Lord, which begins vengeance from the Sanctuary, dealing the harshest measure to the highest, and tormenting the mighty mightily.

"We entreat your Lordship to place full reliance in our messengers, and to employ your zeal and diligence in falsifying the promise which a Presbyterian Cleric of William of Pavia made lately to the King of England, that his Lordship will accept a Legatine commission, and determine our cause to the King's pleasure. You may assure yourself, that we shall not submit either our person or our cause to any judge but to his Holiness the Pope, with whom it rests whether the English Church shall stand or fall: and stand it will, by His mercy on whom it is founded, and who hath redeemed it with His blood.

"Your Wisdom will remember the sincerity in which certain persons have walked with us, and the just ground we have to decline their judgment."

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, TO CARDINAL
HYACINTH¹.

"We place ourself and the Church of England in your Lordship's hands. If we succeed, the glory be yours on whose support we lean; if we are laid waste, yours be the loss, for we and ours are yours in devoted affection.

"The persecutors of that Church have now done their worst; further they cannot advance unless the Church of Rome arms them with powers against herself. Their lightning must soon turn to thunder, and their blustering whirlwind melt away in showers. By the grace of God your Lordships must soon prove conquerors, if only you can hold fast the expectation of conquest. Remember

¹ Ep. i. 135.

what Cæsar said of Pompey ; ‘ insuperabilem esse, si tam bene sciret vincere, quam pugnare.’

“ First of all, the King of England insisted that there should be no appeals to the Apostolic See, and chose his portion with Schismatics, through the ministry, yea perjury, of that John of Oxford, who now dares to appear before your Lordship. Now however he is reduced by force to seek refuge at the See of St. Peter, and to call himself on the Pope’s name, which he had forbidden to be invoked at all. And truly he might well seek refuge there, if he was declining injuries, not inflicting them ; if he was presenting his devotion to the Church, not meditating its overthrow ; if his pretended friendship and false promises were not more baneful, than his open hostility.

“ My most dear Father and Lord, it will soon be seen what material you are made of. Call to mind the saying, ‘ *Fistula dulcè canit, volucrem dum decipit auceps.*’ And know well, that, if the love of private gain prevails with any of you to the disparagement of the Church, and if you grant any thing to his prayers or largesses, he himself, to your confusion and the disgrace of the Apostolic See, will after his wont herald it abroad ; and what he now says so frequently of the venality of Rome, he will then cause to be proclaimed upon the house tops.

“ Would that you and only you had heard how he spoke of those Legates whom he once received, and even of him whom he now pretends to love, and is said to have just petitioned for as Legate. I say “only you,” for then the revilings of a loose tongue would have tainted no foolish ears.

“ Be pleased to receive our Envoys kindly ; you will learn all the rest from them. Have compassion also on the Priest, whom, after that so called appeal, he has caused to be violently seized, and cast into prison : whereas

no step should have been taken either against ourself or ours, as well because we have been appealed from, as on account of our own appeal which we made two years since in his presence, and on which we are still praying for judgment. Observe too how he has despoiled our Churches of their liberty and possessions, and with what bitterness he persecutes ourself and ours, who are suffering for our fidelity to the Apostolic See, yea, and are prepared yet to suffer, according to the strength which God shall grant to us.

“ A Presbyter Cleric of William of Pavia has lately promised the King of England, that his Lord, on accepting a Legatine commission, will terminate this cause to his liking. Be assured, that we shall trust neither our person nor the cause of the Church to one, of whose disposition both towards myself and the King we have already had sufficient experience. The sentence, by which the Church is to stand or fall, must come from the face of our Lord the Pope. And stand it will, through God’s mercy, by your Lordship’s counsel and assistance.”

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, TO CARDINAL BOSO¹.

“ We are well assured that there is no one in the Court who knows better than your Lordship what fidelity, obedience, and devotion the Church of Canterbury is wont to exhibit towards the Apostolic See. For to say nothing of our other predecessors, by whose doctrine and example the Church is ornamented, and to whose merits God has borne testimony by miracles; he who immediately preceded us, your Lordship’s friend, and a most devoted son of the Roman Church, was twice driven from his See for his fidelity, by the persecution of King Stephen: once because against his prohibition, on the summons of Pope Euge-

¹ Ep. i. 136.

nus, he attended the Council of Rheims, while the other Bishops, contrary to their consecration oaths, remained at home, all except three, who attended, by the King's commands, to excuse the absence of the rest : and once more, as you know, because he would not consent to crown the King's son Eustace, in the face of the Roman Pontiff's prohibition.

“ What other Bishop, throughout our whole island, has your Lordship ever heard or read of, except from the Church of Canterbury, who, either in defence of the Church's liberty, or of the institutions of the Fathers, or for his allegiance to the Apostolic See, has ever opposed himself to the will of Princes ? In our own age not one such has there been, nor, if you peruse old histories, will you meet with any : while from that Church many have in God's cause faced death, and others met it.

“ Truly, if these Usages, or rather these abominations, which are exacted of us, had been acknowledged by our predecessor, he would have been spared the troubles to which his obedience exposed him ; nor would he have been thanked by the Chief Priest in full Council, in that, to use his Holiness's words, ‘ *natando potius quam navigando ad concilium venerat.*’ If these perversities had prevailed in his days, he would have crowned the King's son after the Apostolic prohibition : for so the Court had ruled that it should be.

“ For that King, too, had among his instigators some of those who now persecute ourself. You recollect how he who is now at York made a journey to Rome on the business of that King and his Nobles, to procure from his Lordship Pope Eugenius a relaxation of the Apostolic prohibition, after they had failed in shaking the Archbishop.

“ But why should I tell a known tale, especially to your

Lordship, to whom the doers of those deeds are so familiar, and whose knowledge of the devotion of the Church of Canterbury has been acquired not only from books, but through your own eyes and ears? To your Lordship in particular this Church has ever been warmly attached, and by God's grace in our times it shall not cool. From the times of Guido of Pisa, your Lordship has been our personal friend, and through us commenced your friendship with our predecessor. It is our hope, that this attachment may strengthen with years, and that our mutual obligations may increase with opportunity. And with this feeling we supplicate your kindness to join, or rather lead, their Lordships our other friends, in pressing these matters upon the Pope's attention, that he may be prevailed on not to deliver up to beasts a Church, which has ever waited humbly on God and the Apostolic See, but contrariwise, with an outstretched arm, to save us, together with it, from the hands of those who seek our life to take it away.

"For neither did King Stephen desist from persecuting our predecessor, till our Lord Eugenius of blessed memory gave orders that a sentence of anathema without appeal, should be hurled against himself, and an Interdict against his territory, by all the Bishops, with Apostolical authority. For the wolf is not easily driven from the sheepfold, except with the cry of dogs and with the staff."

Henry's interest at the Roman Court outweighed in the event, that of the Archbishop and his friends; and before the end of the year, the Pope published letters appointing Cardinal William of Pavia, and Cardinal Otho, Legates for deciding the points under dispute¹.

¹ Ep. ii. 1, 2, 3, addressed severally to the Archbishop, the King, and the Bishops.

He wrote at the same time to the King of France¹, and the Empress Matilda², urging them to lend their influence in effecting a reconciliation. With this prospect before them, the Archbishop and his advisers had now to consider what course to take.

JOHN OF SALISBURY, TO THE BISHOP OF POITIERS³.
ABOUT CHRISTMAS.

“.....I entreat you to think over the concessions which the King’s envoys are said to have obtained from the Apostolic See; and to make up your mind how his Lordship of Canterbury and myself ought to act, in regard to the King and the Legates.

“If we may trust to rumours and the boastings of the adversary, the King was sooner ashamed of asking than Rome of granting. I hope however that his Holiness the Pope has reserved some solace for our side likewise, yea, for his own and the Church. If not, why cumbereth he the ground? But I will not entertain evil thoughts of him, for all the perverse boastings of the adversary.

“However, if the Legates really come with such powers that we cannot appeal against them, what do you advise?

¹ Ep. ii. 43.

² [As appears from her letter to the Archbishop, (Ep. ii. 42) written in consequence of the Pope’s. In this letter she expresses a wish to know from the Archbishop, what his intentions are, which she hears are factious; “*præcipue cum asserant, quod totum suum regnum, quantum potuistis, adversus eum turbastis, nec remansit in vobis, quin ad eum exhæredandum pro viribus intenderitis.*” In conclusion she says that nothing but conciliatory behaviour will avail with her son; “*Unum quoque vobis veraciter dico, quia nisi per humilitatem magnam, et moderationem evidentissimam, gratiam Regis recuperare non possitis.*”]

³ Ep. ii. 17.

He of Pavia has hitherto in all our dealings with him, kept his eyes fixed on the King's wealth more than the fear of God and the welfare of the Church : *ubi amor ejus ibi oculus*. The other is a man of fair character ; a Roman though, and a Cardinal. If we decline their Judicial enquiry, I fear it will hurt our reputation with the King and Church of France : if we accept it, I fear then for the cause of justice. They will give us up, and as an equivalent for the loss, will replenish their own purses. And whatever show of peace they effect, they will write it down among their titles and triumphs.

“ In justice, restitution should first of all be made to us of our goods and Churches ; and then security guaranteed to us ; but perhaps they will command us to be content with mere pledges till the termination of the suit : terms on which none but a madman would engage in litigation.

“ I have put this at the end, that you may be sure to remember it.”

CHAPTER X.

JOHN OF OXFORD'S PROCEEDINGS AT THE COURT
OF ROME.

THE announcement of the new Commission, besides the concern which it occasioned on its own account, was attended also with circumstances of annoyance, and alternations of hopes and fears, which made the present a peculiarly disagreeable and perplexing time for the Archbishop. A flattering report, it seems, had been spread, that John of Oxford, in order to gain the objects he was contending for from the Pope, i. e. his own absolution, together with that of the others who were excommunicated with him, and the appointment of a Legatine Commission, had been obliged to concede the most important claims on Henry's side. Becket's expectations were immediately raised in consequence; but only to meet with as immediate a disappointment: as the following correspondence will show. But before proceeding so far, we have to notice a letter of the Bishop of London's, showing the extreme alarm which was given about this time by the arrival of the Pope's letters, containing the Archbishop's ap-

pointment as Legate. These, it seems, had not made their way into England till the beginning of the present year, 1167.

THE BISHOP OF LONDON, TO THE KING OF ENGLAND¹.

“ My Lord, the high authority by which we are now opposed and overwhelmed, compels us to have recourse to your Lordship for counsel and support. No appeal can suspend an Apostolical mandate, which admits of no alternative but to obey or disobey.

“ On the day of the Blessed Paul, when we stood in our place by the Altar in our Cathedral, we received from the hand of a person wholly unknown² to us, letters from his Lordship the Pope, by which a Legatine commission over all England, excepting only the Diocese of York, is conceded and confirmed to his Lordship of Canterbury. Moreover, all of us the Bishops of these Realms are commanded, on the same authority, humbly to obey him as Legate of the Apostolic See ; and, without any contradiction, to attend his summons, receiving whatever he enjoins as law. It is added, too, that all those, who by your Highness's mandate have received the revenues of the Archbishop's Clerics during their absence, are to make thorough restitution within two months ; and that we are to enforce the same with an anathema precluding an

¹ Ep. i. 131.

² The Bishop seems not to have dared to retain the messenger. The last sentence of the Archbishop's letter, which was sent with the Legatine commission, is, “ Prædictâ etiam auctoritate et sub eâdem interminatione jubemus, ut horum portitoribus, qui Domini Papæ negotium gerere dignoscuntur, debitum exhibeatis honorem, et eorum sic provideatis indemnitati, sicut honori vestro vultis esse prospectum.” Ep. i. 122.

appeal. We ourselves, moreover, are commanded to exact from our brethren and fellow Bishops the full amount of Peter's pence, and to consign the same to appointed receivers. We are likewise to deliver and forward the aforesaid letters of Commission, and other letters of the Archbishop's, of which he has sent over many copies, to the other Bishops, if we wish any longer to retain our rank in the Church.

"For these reasons we prostrate ourselves at your Highness's feet, humbly requesting that, in the midst of your Royal avocations, you will deign to regard our difficulties, and in your Royal pity provide against the disgrace, nay extinction, which threatens us.

"This your Highness will effect, if you grant us your Royal permission to obey the Apostolical mandate, and pay the amount of Peter's pence, and of your Royal clemency make restitution to the Clerics; and if you give the Bishops a command that in case the Archbishop's letters contain any matter contrary to the Usages of the country, they may appeal at once to the Pope, or to the Legates that are expected.

"By so acting your Highness will do a deed of mercy; saving us from the crime of disobedience, and at the same time securing your own cause from all detriment.

"May the Lord direct you to do His will, and to relieve us in this our strait.

"Farewell, my Lord, most dearly beloved in Christ."

The Archbishop's appointment as Legate, seems from this letter to have been something of a triumph for his side at the time, and to have been expected to bring considerable advantages to him; which we find, however, were never afterwards realized.

To proceed to the correspondence referred to : it is as follows.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, TO NICOLAS OF
ROUEN¹.

“ Marvel not, nor think it matter of admiration, if he whose oath could achieve such wonders, now speaks on a large scale and utters mighty things. Better is it to be undone by another’s wickedness, than our own fears. Nor doubt for a moment, that in spite of the Juror’s² far famed craft, and the capricious menaces of our persecutor, by the mercy of God, neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor any creature shall be able to separate us from the love of Him who hath decreed our tribulation : no nor shall he of Pavia, till this iniquity is accomplished, and the pressure of our lot passes away. Let it be your consolation, that the enemies of the Lord, when they have been honoured and exalted, even as a smoke shall consume away. Wait yet but a little while until the breath of the light wind hiss over them. ‘ A little while and the ungodly shall be clean gone ; they shall look after his place and he shall be away.’ But of this enough.

“ If our excommunicates are to be absolved or have been so already, it is clear that their excommunication either is or has been valid : and it follows that those, who have knowingly communicated with them, have brought themselves under excommunication too. Let them look to the consequences. Of one thing you may be cer-

¹ Ep. i. 155.

² [Jurator, the Swearer, a nickname among the Archbishop’s party, for John of Oxford. He was notorious for his unscrupulousness in taking oaths on all occasions, on which his Master’s interests could be served by it.]

tain : John has not obtained this benefit gratis. A something he has given in return, as we hear for certain from persons just returned from the Court. He has taken on himself to renounce on the King's part those Royal Usages, which are the very things that the King wanted us to concede and confirm. You must take care that this reaches the King's ears, and is noised about in your Province : let it on no account be known that the information came from me ; take care too that it does not seem to rest on your own authority. Thus the talker will be confounded in his own presumption. But do you be comforted and be strong, for by the mercy of God we are not so far from safety, or our enemies from chastisement, as credulity dreams, or self-deceit flatters itself. Farewell ; and may our Nicolas farewell likewise. Await the end rejoicing. The end is worth all the rest, when expectation becomes experience. Farewell again and ever."

THE BISHOP OF POITIERS, TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF
CANTERBURY¹.

" Domino et Patri reverendo Thomæ Dei gratia venerabili Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo, suus eâdem gratiâ Pictaviensis Ecclesiæ humilis Sacerdos, salutem et juges in Deo successus.

" On the day of the Purification of the Blessed Mary, the very day on which I received your Lordship's letter, I had a conversation with John Cumin and Raoul de Tamworth, who had arrived at Tours the day before, on their way back from his Holiness the Pope's Court.

" I hoped to have made out from them what had been the object and success of their mission, but could get hold

¹ Ep. i. 164.

of little; as they seemed to think it due to their Lord to keep me in ignorance. Something however I did extort from them against their will: I heard a little too from the Dean of St. Maurice who entertained them at his house: and somewhat more from a certain Cleric in their suite.

“ This person told me that there was no doubt his Lordship the Pope had been prevailed on by long and earnest solicitation, to send his Lordship of Pavia with Legatine authority over all the King’s territories. It is supposed too that he is to come with full powers to hear, judge, plant and pull up, and especially as concerns the disputes between your Lordship and others, and his Majesty, to pronounce authoritatively and irreversibly, with no appeal from his sentence. So that the decree for the restitution of your Lordship’s goods is likely to prove of little service: at least it will hardly put you in possession, so long before the settlement of the principal cause. For the full powers of the aforesaid Legate are said to supersede all exceptions, and every previous decree. However it is said, that he is to have for his colleague Lord Otho Cardinal de Carcere Tulliano¹. May it prove so. The malignant influence of one star is tempered, if not extinguished, by the neighbourhood of another more propitious.

“ These two left Rome on the kalends of January, and have made the best of their way to these parts.

“ I cannot believe what your Lordship tells me you heard from your Envoy as to the conditions on which John of Oxford procured absolution; nor that *he has abjured the Usages*, either by the King’s instructions or otherwise. It is said however, that this John is exempted

¹ [The Tullianum, a prison of ancient Rome, on the site of which was built the Church of “St. Peter in prison,” which gave a title to one of the Cardinals. Hoffman in Voc.]

from your authority as regards excommunication. For as these persons say who are just returned, I mean John Cumin¹ and Raoul de Tamworth, John of Oxford ingratiated himself with the Pope, by suggesting *that peace might be restored between your Lordship and the King, if any one could be found to negotiate it faithfully*; and that he undertook to do this himself. For this reason the said John and Raoul loudly call John of Oxford a traitor to the King; because for his own ends he promised to do what the King holds for impossible. In this way these two, Raoul and John, detract from John of Oxford in all his doings.

“ They say too, as I learn from the Dean of St. Maurice, who made out all this for me, that they are bringing home to the King all the letters, which your Lordship and others have addressed to the Pope against the King, and all your Petitions. Among these they are surprised to find letters from his Lordship of Bourges, from whom the King suspected nothing of the sort. They say too that they have letters from some of the Bishops in the King’s territory, and even from Officers of his household, against him and in favour of your Lordship. But who these Bishops or Officers were, they would reveal to no one except the King.

“ John Cumin was boasting that he had upbraided the Pope with having received a letter from you, which, to

¹ [The Pope in his letter to the Legates, (Ep. ii. 23.) accuses this person of having betrayed the secrets of the Court: ‘ Nobis insinuaturn est, quod Joannes Cumin omnia rescripta literarum nostrarum, quas a nobis obtinuit, Guidoni Cremensi monstravit, et sibi secreta nostra detexit. Unde Archiepiscopus et dolore confunditur, et Rex Franciæ et principes ejus non parum sint de hujusmodi rumoribus conturbati et vehementer commoti.—De Joanne Cumin, si ita esse inveneritis, districtam justitiam faciatis.’]

prevent denial, he said began with ‘*Satis superque satis Domine reverende sustinui* ;’ and that the next sentence declared you were about to excommunicate the King. He says he got possession of this letter at Conches, where your Messenger is said to have been taken. It is much more likely that he got them in the Pope’s Chancery.

“ It is supposed that John of Oxford has gone to England, to concert measures against your Lordship, with those who thirst after your blood, and to prepare witnesses and accusers. I entreat your Lordship, now while you have time, to take such steps as you can, to meet these harsh and savage machinations. For the charges they mean to bring against your innocence, are neither few nor light.

“ These persons, just returned from the Court, are very indignant at you for having called the King a malicious Tyrant. In these letters of yours, which you sent to the Pope and which they are carrying back to the King, they say you speak of his malice many times over.

“ Farewell, my Lord, and the Spirit of Wisdom dwell with you.”

THE ARCHBISHOP, TO JOHN OF CANTERBURY, HIS ENVOY
AT THE COURT OF ROME².

“ From the sequel you will be able to form some idea of the scorn and ridicule, to which we have been anew exposed in the eyes of all men, and of the scandals which are circulated against his Lordship the Pope, and the whole Court. It may be of use to give a secret intimation of this to his Holiness and to our friends, if any such we have.

“ John of Oxford and the King’s other envoys are re-

¹ This Letter is Ep. i. 138.

² Ep. i. 165.

turned from the Court, exalting themselves above all that is called God or is worshipped; and boasting that they have obtained all their desire; viz. that the King is exempted in regard to excommunication from all Episcopal authority, except that of his Lordship the Pope; and that he is to have the Legate he asked for,—William of Pavia. This our more than declared enemy is to come with full powers over the King's whole territory, to plant and to build, and especially to root up and overthrow, without appeal; and above all to decide the principal cause between ourself and the King, and all its incidents which may give rise to exception in time to come.

“ With this pomp and boast is John of Oxford returned to England. On his landing he found our brother, the Bishop of Hereford, waiting for a wind to cross the water, and in concealment; for the King's officers would have prevented his crossing openly. On finding him, he forbade him to proceed, first in the name of the King, and then of his Holiness the Pope. The Bishop then enquired, as I am assured by his messenger, who came afterwards to excuse his Lordship's non-appearance, ‘ whether he had any letters to that effect?’ He asserted that he had, and that the Pope forbade him and the other Bishops as well, either to attend our summons, or obey us in any thing, till the arrival of the King's Legate a Latere¹, who had been obtained by the King, and was coming with full powers to determine the matter on which they had appealed, and the principal cause and all its incidents.

¹ [“ A Legate a Latere (sic dictus quod *lateri* Pontificis hæreat, et ex ejus sit familiaribus) possessed full and irresponsible powers with respect to the subject of his commission, and stood in the place of Pope for the time being. He decided himself any appeals that were made from his own decision.” Hoffman in Voc.]

The Bishop insisted on seeing the letters, but he said he had sent them on with his baggage to Winchester, about twelve miles from Southampton. On considering the matter, the Bishop sent back his Cleric to Winchester, M. Edward, in whose veracity I confide, and he saw the letters in company with the Bishop of London, who was likewise waiting to cross the water. When the Bishop of London saw them, he said aloud, as if unable to restrain himself, ‘Then, master Thomas, you shall never be Archbishop more.’

“John of Oxford added that his own person was privileged, so that we had no power to excommunicate him, or even rebuke him, except in the Pope’s presence; and that he might present the Deanery of Salisbury to any one he pleased; and that our authority was in all points curtailed till the Legate’s arrival.

“Of all this the Bishop informed me through his Chaplain, a Canon Regular, a holy man whom he has sent to excuse his neglect of our summons. For we had summoned him once and again, and a third time, with a peremptory mandate to appear in our presence before the Purification, as a man of weight and in the King’s confidence, to assist in effecting peace if possible between the King and ourself. All this the Canon was ready to swear that he had heard from the Bishop, and that he was commissioned on his part to inform me of it.

“If this is true, then without doubt his Lordship the Pope has suffocated and strangled, not only our own person, but himself and every Ecclesiastic of both kingdoms; yea both Churches together, the Gallican and the English. For what will not the Kings of the earth dare against the Clergy, under cover of this most wretched precedent? And on what can the Church of Rome rely, when it thus deserts and leaves destitute the persons who are making a stand in its cause, and contending for it even unto death?

And what if any thing should befall his Holiness the Pope, while the King and others are in possession of these privileges and exemptions? They will be transmitted to posterity, from whose hands none will be able to arrest them. Nay more, let the Church say yea or nay, other Princes will extort like privileges and exemptions for themselves, till in the end the liberty of the Church perishes, and with it the power and jurisdiction of the Bishops. For none will be at hand to coerce the wickedness of tyrants, whose whole efforts are at this day concentrated against God's Church and Ministers. Nor will they desist till these are reduced to like servitude with the rest.

“ However the result is as yet unseen : what we do see is, that, whether the above assertions are true or false, we at any rate are troubled above measure. No obedience or respect is now shown us in any thing, either by the Bishops or Abbots, or any of the Clergy, as if our deposition was now a settled thing.

“ Of one thing, however, let his Lordship the Pope assure himself : no consideration shall induce us to enter the King's territories as a litigant, nor to accept our enemies as our Judges, especially him of Pavia, who thirsts for our blood that he may fill our place ; which, as we understand, is promised him in case he rids the King of us.

“ There is another thing that grieves us. The great men of France, Nobles, Bishops and other Dignitaries, as if despairing of our cause, have sent back our unhappy co-exiles whom their charity hath sustained ; and these must perish of cold and hunger, as some indeed have perished already.

“ Be careful to impress all this on his Lordship the Pope ; that if, as we even yet hope, some zeal of God remains with him, he may take steps to relieve us.

“ Farewell, and send back some Messenger in all haste,

with information on these points and others. If what is stated prove true, we are in a strait indeed."

So much for the new aspect of affairs as placed before us in the preceding letters. It excited alarm in the Archbishop's party, and indignation among their friends and supporters, especially the Clergy and Court of France. Louis himself, sympathizing as he always did with Becket's troubles, and admiring him both for his personal character, and for the cause in which he was engaged, wrote urgently to the Pope, informing him of the animadversions which were passed upon the late proceedings among his own subjects. Becket himself also addressed a remonstrance to the Pope, and another to the Cardinals collectively. M. Lombard, a French Clergyman of high reputation, seconded Louis's letter; and John of Salisbury communicated his feelings in language as free and strong as could becomingly be used in addressing the Head of the Church¹. Of these the most important are M. Lombard's, and the Archbishop's to the Cardinals.

¹ [Ep. ii. 60. "Nos quid patienter queri possumus, inter tot mortes, carceres, vincula, flagra, contumelias, terrores, esuriei, sitis, nuditatis, et multimodæ calamitatis angustias? *Utinam, Pater, essent aures vestræ, ad ora Regis et Optimatum Franciæ—et si vera sunt, quæ prædicantur in compitis, non video quomodo Majestas vestra probabiliter valeat excusari. Os meum in cælum ponere non præsumo, fateor, et verum est omnia licere Romano Pontifici, sed ea duntaxat, quæ jure divino Ecclesiasticæ concessa sunt potestati. Liceat ei nova jura condere, vetera abrogare, dum tamen illa, quæ a Dei verbo in Evangeliiis, vel lege perpetua causam habent, mutare non possit. Ausim dicere quod nec Petrus quenquam perseverantem in scelere, et voluntate peccandi, posset absolvere.*"]

¹M. LOMBARD, TO THE POPE.

“Reverendo Patri ac Domino, Alexandro, Dei gratiâ, Summo Pontifici, Lombardus ejus Clericus fidelis obedientiæ famulatum.

“I, who am your Holiness’s servant, and the work of your hands in Christ, neither can nor ought to conceal what is now cunningly devised to the disparagement of your Holiness’s good name, and the detriment of the whole Church.

“John of Oxford insolently boasts, that he has returned from Rome with the rank of Dean, and in full possession of your Holiness’s favour; and adds, that he is exempted by a special privilege from the power of his Lordship of Canterbury and of every other Bishop; and, as if he were only lower than the order of Cardinals, that he is subject to none but your Holiness and your Apostleship. Moreover, he asserts with much pomp, that he has obtained for the King what no King was ever able to obtain for himself, i. e. your Holiness’s assent to a marriage in the third degree of affinity, between the King’s son and the daughter of the Earl of Bretagne. He adds, that Legates are to be sent at the King’s request, to hear and to decide without appeal whatever the King thinks fit to propose against the Archbishop.

“These, most Holy Father, are the reports which John has circulated on his return from Rome: and the surprise they have excited is proportional to their unaccustomed nature.

¹ Ep. i. 166. [This was Hubert Lombard, a Lombard, and a native of Milan; a particular friend of the Archbishop’s, and distinguished for his eloquence and talents in public business. At this time he was Archdeacon of Bourges, from whence he was afterwards promoted to the Archbishopric of Milan, and finally elevated to the Popedom, under the name of Urban III.]

“ On hearing them, the King of France, that devoted son of your Holiness and the Church, was so vehemently troubled, that his first resolution was to send envoys to deny the Legates entrance into his Kingdom. Something more too he did, of which I have directed the bearer to inform you. He said likewise, that he would convoke the Archbishops and Bishops, and lay before them how the Church of Rome was exalting those who maligned herself and him, and was lending herself to his own depression.

“ ‘ Is not my dishonour attempted,’ said he, ‘ in this crafty design upon the life of an innocent man, and an exile for justice and the Church’s liberty, the Archbishop of Canterbury ; who is thus impiously delivered up to those that hate and persecute him : while I, (not as a return for services, for I have received only injuries from him, while he served the man that now persecutes him, but in consideration of his most just cause and of his own integrity, and even by the earnest request of his Holiness the Pope himself) have determined, as long as his exile lasts, to cherish him as it were in my bosom ; as indeed I am now doing.’

“ He protested likewise, that your Holiness could not have given him greater molestation, if the cause for which you were sending Legates was to take off his own Crown. And while he was thus excited, there were not wanting persons to incense him still further. An occasion has thus been ministered to those, with whose disposition your Holiness was acquainted from the first, of speaking and contriving evil against ourselves and God’s Church. Nor has your indulgence changed their purpose, though your authority might have confounded it.

“ All this came to my knowledge through a certain Cleric, faithfully devoted to your Holiness, who was present when it took place and told me privately.

“One thing, most Holy Father, I know well, nor can I write it without a tear. The sweet savour of your Holiness’s name is in part impaired. To detract from your fame is meat and drink to the evil speakers, who now, as it were intoxicated with strong drink, fall on you with the sharpest tooth of calumny, as well from the favour they bear his Lordship of Canterbury, as out of hatred for his persecutor¹.

“And what makes matters still worse; it seems the general belief, that the day of his victory and your Holiness’s was at hand. For the King was so terrified when the day of appeal had lapsed, that he asserted, the Bishops had not engaged in it by his command or advice, and that he would take no part with them in the matter. The Bishops too were in such a strait, and in such dread of an Interdict, that some were sending messengers to his Lordship of Canterbury, and others were on the way to attend his summons; when John of Oxford, as if with Legatine authority, convoked them all, and, as is the report in France, forbade them to obey in your Holiness’s name. On this occasion the Bishop of Hereford was recalled, when he was actually by the sea, waiting to cross. His excuse was delivered to the Archbishop in my presence, by messengers from himself, holy men of known character.

“For these reasons then the minds of many are greatly disturbed. They fear that the wiles of the King will now succeed, in ruining and enslaving the Churches of England and his other territories, and that the Archbishop’s persecution will be protracted and embittered. I have

¹ [These reflections on the Archbishop’s supporters, seem only inserted by M. Lombard, in order to temper the disagreeable intelligence he is communicating to the Pope. Being an Italian, and intimately connected with the Papal Court, he could not of course speak so undisguisedly as John of Salisbury and others had done, on the same subject.]

heard it often asserted, and in many quarters, that the King's whole hope rests in your Holiness's misfortunes, and in what I pray God of His infinite mercy long to avert,—your death; for that he asserts he will never recognise your Successor, till all the Dignities and Usages of his realm have been acknowledged by him. And now it is believed that these Legates have been demanded by him only in subtlety, that for the time he may evade excommunication, and his Realm an Interdict; and that thus he hopes during your Holiness's life to void the Archbishop's authority, till he can make terms with your Successor.

“For these reasons, most Holy Father, all those who have the Spirit of God and desire the Church's peace, long earnestly to see excited in your Holiness the spirit of a Daniel, to detect the wiles of a Belshazzar and to slay the Dragon: and to this end they beseech the Lord in united and continual prayer.

“May your Holiness long fare well.”

THOMAS, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, TO ALL THE
CARDINALS¹.

“Venerabilibus Dominis suis et Patribus universis, Episcopis, Presbyteris, Diaconibus, Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ, Dei gratiâ, Cardinalibus, Thomas eâdem gratiâ Cantuariensis Ecclesiæ Minister humilis, miser ac miserabilis Exul, salutem, ac debitum per omnia famulatum.

“Smooth speeches are not for the wretched, nor guarded words for the bitter in soul. May my bitter thoughts be pardoned, my wretchedness indulged.

“It is our belief, most Holy Fathers, that you stand in high places as God's delegates, to put aside injustice, to

¹ Ep. ii. 46.

cut off presumption, to relieve the sorrowing Priesthood and stop the way against its persecutors, to assist the oppressed and punish the oppressors. And with this belief, we regard it your bounden duty to exert yourselves most zealously in a cause affecting the interests of the Universal Church, the cause now pending between ourself, yea rather yourselves, and his Majesty the King of England.

“Your Lordships had entered the lists, and it is the common belief of all, the firm conviction of those who knew his Majesty’s secrets, that unless he had circumvented you by craft, your victory was at hand. Peace, my Lords, must be extorted from tyrants, not besought. Peace is for those that are prepared for war.

“The Lord hath said, ‘Love *justice*, ye that are judges of the earth.’ This it is you must love, this that you must observe; this it is that brings about *peace* and preserves it. Whence Esaias, ‘The effect of *righteousness* shall be *peace* ;’ and David, ‘*Righteousness* and *peace* have kissed one another.’ These twain are so leagued, that he who does justice finds peace, and none other.....

“Wherefore then do ye recede from the ways of the Lord, in whom is your trust? May God avert the end I fear; may it not come to pass with your Lordships, that destruction and unhappiness should be in your ways, since the *way of peace* ye have not known. Who, my Lords, shall deliver you from him that persecuteth you? Who shall break the jaw-bones of the lion which is now at your doors to swallow you up¹? Who but the Lord Himself? Truly neither silver, nor gold, nor the grace of man, nor

¹ “Quis liberabit vos de belluæ faucibus, quæ jam in januis est, ut vos absorbeat omnes:” alluding to the danger which threatened them from the progress of the Emperor’s arms in Italy. This throws some light perhaps on the Pope’s recent concessions.

the favour of Princes. Oh, put not your trust in Princes, nor in any child of man ; for there is no health in them. Cursed is he that putteth his trust in man.....

“Beware, my Lords, beware lest ye treasure up for yourselves wrath against the day of wrath ; rather lay up for yourselves treasures in Heaven ; resisting the oppressors and relieving the oppressed. Otherwise let God judge between you and me, and my fellows in exile,—the fatherless and widow, and helpless infant,—that God with whom there is no acceptance of persons. The blood of my slain at your hands let Him avenge. He sitteth on high, a just Judge, pondering well all partiality and injustice, and will one day render to every one of you, according as he has dealt with me, whether it be good or whether it be evil.

“My Lords, you have held me up as a mark to an arrow, so that none could ward off the darts of those that pressed upon me, except only the mighty arm of God. Ye have made me a reproach to them that passed by, a very scorn to my neighbours, a laughing-stock to those that were round about. Would that ye had not held up yourselves also.....

“I write these things, not to anger but to caution you, God knoweth, He who searcheth the heart ; lest the day of the Lord come to you like a thief in the night ; the day of fierce anger, which spareth no one.

“Trust then to me, my beloved Lords.....resume your strength, gird yourselves with the word of the Most High as with a sword, unsheathe the sword of the Blessed Peter, avenge the injury of Christ and of His flock ; let your eye spare not, make haste to do judgment and justice for all that suffer wrongfully. This is the Royal way, this is the way that leadeth to life ; this is the way that you must walk in, if ye would follow the footsteps of Jesus Christ, and the footsteps of His Apostles, whose Vicars ye are.

“ It is not by craft, it is not by wise schemes that the Church is to be governed, but by Justice and Truth. Who follows those need fear no danger. Do these, and then be assured you will have God for your helper, so that you need not fear what man doeth unto you.

“ Farewell, that it may be well with me also and with the whole Church.”

These remonstrances had their influence on the Pope, especially that of the King of France; which spoke the sentiments not only of Louis himself, but of the French Church and people. Accordingly he wrote word to his Legates, to administer consolation to the Archbishop; ordering them at the same time on no account to enter Henry's dominions, or take any decided step in the Commission, *till the Archbishop were reconciled to the King*¹; thus leaving it in fact to the choice of the former, whether he would call the Commission into action or not. It could have no *authority* without his previous consent, though of course it might still urge and recommend measures. Difficulties, however, there still were on the Archbishop's side. Suspicion might attach to his cause, if he declined a trial, when a trial was offered. And the presence itself of Legates unfavourable to him would be a source of trouble; though no formal jurisdiction were lodged with them.

Besides the relief thus obtained by the Pope's retracting his steps, some faint hopes were also revived

¹ [Ep. ii. 23, written May 7. The same thing is repeated in Ep. ii. 34, which dates September 21.]

in the quarter from which so much disappointment, as we have seen, had arisen. It appeared that John of Oxford *had* done what was reported of him, i. e. that he had given up in the King's name the Constitutions of Clarendon. But then no dependence was to be placed on the negotiations of such a person; as in all probability some opening would have been contrived at the bottom, wholly to unsubstantiate his pledges. However, the Archbishop and his party remained for a short time in suspense on the matter, as John of Salisbury's letters of this date show¹. At last the truth came out, which had been all along suspected; viz. that the agreement was entirely dishonest from the first; and that the envoy had pledged his master, knowing that he could not do so; and that his master would not consider himself in any sense committed by such an agreement having been made for him.² How far both King and envoy were parties to this arrangement, it does not clearly appear; but the

¹ [Ep. i. 156, 157, 107. "Scitis, quid solatii a Sede Apostolicâ vobis retulerit Decanus vester. Nam conatus ejus et processus non latet Archiepiscopum, qui nuper per nuncios suos recepit consolationem Apostolicam. Præfatus quoque Decanus, si dignum ducit, meminisse potest pactionum quas iniit, et cautionum quas præstitit Domino Papæ. Et si ab injuriis Archiepiscopi sui et Domini postea aliquantulum temperasset, fortasse sibi ipsi utilius prospexisset in posterum." 107.]

² [Ep. ii. 102. John of Oxford also before his absolution publicly swore, "quod in præfato Schismaticorum conventu (the conference with the Emperor, p. 127) nihil fecerat contra fidem Ecclesiæ, et honorem et utilitatem Domini Papæ. Also Ep. ii. 95, 76.]

result certainly was, that Henry found no disadvantage in the services of an unscrupulous minister, who gave him the appearance of making pledges which he was under no obligation to fulfil. The Pope was highly indignant at the discovery of the deceit which had been practised on him, and it was given out that he intended recalling his Legates¹; but this step was not ventured upon.

Such is the history of this Legatine Commission, as far as we have gone. There was another point, it may be remembered, which appeared to be conceded at the same time to John of Oxford's solicitations; the absolution of the persons excommunicated at Vezelay. This turned out after all to have been only granted conditionally; in the extreme case of any of the parties being in danger of death². A subsequent letter will tell us the advantage which was taken, on John of Oxford's return, even of this very limited concession³.

¹ [Ep. ii. 202. "Quorum iter, ut aiunt, suspensum est juratoris fraude comperta." Also Ep. ii. 95.]

² [Ep. ii. 3. "Interim, si aliquam de personis illis, quas memoratus Archiepiscopus excommunicationis sententia innodavit, metu mortis laborare contigerit, eundem ab aliquo vestrum qui propinquior fuerit, accepto juramento quod nostro super hoc, si convaluerit, debeat parere mandato, absolvi concedimus."]

³ [Ep. ii. 26, also Ep. ii. 103.]

CHAPTER XI.

ARRIVAL OF THE LEGATES.

MORE than the first half of the year 1167 had now passed, and the Legates were expected soon to make their appearance,—much to the relief, doubtless, of the King's party ; for their year of appeal had expired, and there was an interval in consequence from that time to the arrival of the Legates, during which the Archbishop might exert his spiritual powers upon his opponents. That he had some thought of doing so, is evident from a letter of his written during this interval to his friend Cardinal Hyacinth¹, and from one which he received himself from John of Salisbury²; which we shall shortly come to. These letters show that he was meditating a sentence of excommunication against the

¹ [Ep. ii. 14. “ — rogantes sollicitudinem prudentiæ vestræ ita efficaciter adversus eum (Regem) apud Dominum Papam exhibeatis, quatenus Personis, tam Cismarinis quam Transmarinis, literis suis firmiter præcipiat, ut sententiam quam in Regem et terram ipsius rationabiliter promulgabimus, firmiter teneant et observent.”]

² [Ep. ii. 20.]

Bishop of London; and even an Interdict on the King and realm. The sentence on the Bishop of London was really pronounced, but in such a way, that the excommunicated party refused to acknowledge it. The Archbishop however notified it to the Legates on their arrival; and on a subsequent occasion treated the Bishop as an excommunicate.

The Legates in the course of their journey were met by M. Lombard, who sent Becket notice of their approach, and informed him of the extent of their commission, so far as he had been able to ascertain it from them.

M. LOMBARD, TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY¹.

“ I have received a letter from your Highness, expressing wonder that you had not heard through me of the arrival of the Cardinals.

“ The fact is, it was so sudden that I could obtain no previous intimation of it; otherwise He, who sees hearts and reins, knows how glad I should have been to send you notice. As it was, though I had an engagement to travel another way, such was my anxiety on your behalf, that I went to meet them to Chateau Roux, and tried hard to extract from them, as well apart as together, what their instructions empowered them to do, both for and against you.

“ As far as I could learn from what one of them told me, and from what I myself saw of both their letters, their power against you is nothing at all, and what they have is in your favour.

“ As the subject led me to it, I hinted to them, that,

¹ Ep. ii. 5.

whatever they did, they must be on their guard against doing any thing to the prejudice of the King of France or his Realm, or even of your Lordship; for that they must remember, what offence my Lord the King had already taken at the absolution of John of Oxford. By the way I met that person accidentally in the Pope's ante-room, when he was at the Court, with Reginald the Archdeacon; and he had the impudence to offer me his kiss. On my refusing, and asking aloud whether he was not excommunicate, you may suppose he looked foolish enough¹.

“To return. Just before the Legates went, they assured me that, even if they had received powers against you, which God forbid, yet, as far as they might, they would devote their zeal and good wishes to your service.

“Be pleased to signify your wishes to me by the bearer, and I will obey them in all things and through all things.”

CARDINAL OTHO, TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY².

“Amabili Patri et Fratri carissimo Thomæ, Dei gratiâ Cantuarensi Archiepiscopo, Otho, eadem gratiâ Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Diaconus Cardinalis, et sedis Apostolicæ Legatus, salutem.

“We write to inform your Lordship's kindness, that in conformity with his Lordship the Pope's Mandate, after passing through places beset with snares and peril, we arrived, under the Lord's guidance, safe at Venice, though our enemies were laying wait for us on every side. By

¹ illius Joannis de Oxenford, cui, misso a Rege Anglorum cum Reginaldo Archidiacono, in introitu ipsius Curie, cum forte obviarem, ipsi, inquam, prætendenti osculum prius, dene-gavi, quærendo in publico an excommunicatus esset. Sed quid mirum si erubuerit versus in cachinnum?

² [Ep. ii. 4.]

the Lord's doing their snare was broken, and we were delivered.

“ From Venice, we proceeded no longer in disguise, but publicly, to the great delight and comfort of our friends, through Mantua, Verona, our native country Brescia, where we made a long stay, Bergamo, Milan, Novara, Vercelli, Turin ; thence we passed over to S. Michael de Clusâ ; and thence through Provence as far as St. Gilles, where we arrived in health and safety, intending shortly to pass on to Mont Pelier.

“ On the arrival of your Lordship's friend Lord William, we shall proceed, as your Lordship is aware, according to the instruction of our Lord the Pope.

“ In the meanwhile we send you our Cleric, the bearer of these, who is worthy of full reliance in all he shall state on our part, and may without any hesitation be entrusted with your answer.”

WILLIAM OF PAVIA, TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF
CANTERBURY¹.

“ Although in respect of the varied aspect of the times, and of the schism which has afflicted the Church of Rome, we may perhaps, in our desire to avoid worse evils, have appeared blameable, according to the estimation of some, for various proposals to which we were inclined respecting your Lordship : yet He knoweth, who is the inspector of hearts, that love for your Lordship has dwelt ever fixedly in our bosom. But, as we remember to have often intimated to your Lordship's vigilance, it has been our object, as far as might be, to retain the confidence of the King of England ; with the hope that we might be enabled, in process of time, more efficaciously to mediate between your

¹ Ep. ii. 9.

Lordship and himself, and at the same time to preserve for the Apostolic See the allegiance of so great a Prince.

“At present our venerable brother Otho, Cardinal Deacon, and ourself, are on our way to his territory, with a commission to determine the questions at issue between your Lordship and himself, as shall seem best to us, for the interests of God’s Church; and we would seriously press your Lordship, as far as in your Lordship lies, to avoid all steps that may tend to widen the breach, but zealously to co-operate in whatever may facilitate an arrangement.

“It will be our part, as far as divine grace permits, without any acceptance of persons, to bring about peace to your Lordship’s advantage; nor will we leave any thing unattempted, as, God willing, the event will soon show, which may promote the honour of God and the interest of the Church.”

The easy and magisterial tone of the last letter gave peculiar offence to Becket, especially as it was assuming more than the writer had any warrant in doing from his commission, after the last limitations imposed upon it. The Archbishop composed an answer accordingly somewhat in a severe style; which he submitted however first to John of Salisbury’s criticism.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, TO WILLIAM
OF PAVIA¹.

“*Salutem, et contra Principum insolentiam fortitudinem.*

“We have just now received a letter from your High-

¹ Ep. ii. 10.

ness, holding out to us in the beginning a cup of honey, poison in the middle, in the end oil.

“Your Highness informs us, that you are now come to these parts to determine the questions at issue between his Lordship the King of England and ourself, as shall seem best to you for the Church. We do not conceive that you are come in this capacity, and certainly shall not acknowledge you in it, for many reasons, which will be stated at the proper time and place.

“Meanwhile, if peace or any other good is brought about for us through your intervention, thanks be to God and your Highness.

“May your Highness fare well, for our sake as well as your own.”

JOHN OF SALISBURY, TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF
CANTERBURY¹.

“I have read the letter which your Lordship means to send Lord William; and, though I will not venture to pass sentence on the writer, I certainly cannot approve the style. To my mind it is deficient in humility, and not quite consistent with the command, ‘Let your moderation be known to all, the Lord is at hand.’ If your Lordship’s letter and his are compared clause by clause, the answer seems conceived in a spirit of bitterness, very foreign to the sincerity of Christian love. For instance, to say nothing of taunts overt and covert, what has he written to deserve being told that in the middle of his letter he holds you a cup of poison? Does your Lordship think it a becoming way of saluting a Presbyterian Cardinal and Legate of the Apostolic See, to brand him with suspicions in your very first words, and contrary to the advice of his Lord-

¹ Ep. ii. 20.

ship the Pope, to imbitter him against you with no possible object? For my part, I cannot think you have chosen a fit way of addressing his Lordship the Pope's appointed messenger. If he sends back to the Pope your Lordship's letters and his own, your own writing will certainly be brought forward in proof of your contumacy, and in justification of the King's cause. Even granting that this William has been and still is your enemy, still you should dissemble till his evil deeds convict him; and it is certain, from the report of your own envoys, that his Lordship the Pope so advises.

"I do not mean either, that before he has given some practical proof of his good intentions, you should consent to acknowledge him as a Judge; but I advise you not to be in such exceeding haste about rejecting him. Litigation, however, you may undoubtedly decline till restitution has been made, which just now is impossible. In the mean time here you should stop, and try, as far as honour and conscience will permit, to win the Cardinals over, waiting patiently till in God's good time your adversaries put themselves manifestly in the wrong¹.

"If he did say he was come to decide the question at issue, as seemed to him best for the Church, what wrong has he done you by this? Cannot there be determination by an agreement, as well as by a sentence? If he has exhorted you to avoid, as far as in you lies, whatever may tend to widen the breach between parties, I own I cannot see how he has done amiss; since this is what your

¹ [At this time it was not generally known what line the Legates were going to take. Thus, in writing to his brother Richard, John of Salisbury says, "*Varius autem rumor est, aliis asserentibus Cardinales fideliter pro Ecclesiâ Dei laboraturos, aliis dicentibus quod proposuerunt distrahere Ecclesiæ libertatem, et evacuare causæ nostræ justitiam pro pecuniâ.*" Ep. ii. 15.]

very best and wisest friends advise, pressing you, as far as your own honour and that of the Church will permit, to labour for peace. You should have asked him what the particulars were he wished you to avoid, and pressed him to be urgent with the King concerning restitution to you and yours, and the liberty of the Church, and to send you word what advances he has made; for that at present you are not supplied with the means for attending a conference: and that it is not safe for you or yours to pass the King of England's borders.

“May the Angel of great counsels be with you, and may the Holy Spirit be in the heart and on the tongue of those whom you send to them. If the Legate fulfils what the end of his letter promises, he will deserve our very best thanks.

“If the Bishop of London or your Archdeacon receive their deserts from the Pope, they may thank themselves. But your Lordship must consider whether a sentence is binding when not preceded by a citation. Would that every thing held good in law, which does so in justice!”

The letter was accordingly thrown aside, and Becket prepared a milder, which hardly however gave more satisfaction than the former.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, TO WILLIAM OF PAVIA¹.

“To his venerable Lord and friend, beloved according to his deserts, William, by the grace of God, Cardinal Presbyter of St. Peter ad Vincula, and Legate of the Apostolic See, Thomas, by the same grace, servant of the Church of Canterbury, health, and against the insolence of Princes, fortitude.

“We are sensible of your Highness's benevolence, in that your Highness has at length condescended to address

¹ Ep. ii. 11.

a letter to one so insignificant as myself, who in the eyes of most persons pass only for what I appear now, not what I have been, or what God in His mercy may possibly think fit to make of me.

“ Your Highness informs us, that many persons blame you for having inclined to various proposals respecting our Lordship’s goodness; but God, as your Highness remarks, who is the inspector of hearts, knoweth, and the event will soon show, whether you have not done this from a mere regard to my interest, that you might retain the King’s confidence, to prevent his receding from the Church of Rome, and becoming more implacable towards ourself.

“ If, as the tenor of your Highness’s letter intimates, you have now come down to his territory, with intention to decide the questions at issue between ourself and him, as shall seem best to you for the interests of the Church, certainly there is a way in which you may effect this. We conceive, however, that we are sufficiently well-informed of the extent of your commission, and of the capacity in which we are to acknowledge you.

“ We earnestly hope that your Highness’s prudence may be encouraged to take such a part in this business, as may end to the honour of God, the relief of the Church, and your own reputation. Meanwhile, if peace or any other good is brought about for myself and the Church of England through your zeal and diligence, thanks be to God and your Highness. Would that you may be induced to regard with serious fellow-feeling, the magnitude of the grievances which ourself and the Church of England have sustained, and are still sustaining, and of their evil influence on the Church Universal. On this contest the eyes of all are fixed, and to its issue they look, either to arm with horns the insolence of Princes, or to extin-

guish it. May your Highness's arrival contribute to the latter consummation.

“Farewell for the Church's sake, and farewell ever.”

JOHN OF SALISBURY, TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF
CANTERBURY¹.

“Your second letter suits my taste as little as the first ; it is too full of suspicions, and immoderately over-seasoned with sarcasms : and I fear temerity on our part will give our other enemies a plausible handle against us. For this reason, as I was going to send into Poitiers, I have ordered the bearer to wait on your Lordship in his way, to let you know my opinion, and to take charge of any thing you may wish to send to his Lordship of Poitiers.

“I myself have preferred another form of addressing the Cardinals, which would not indeed suit your Lordship's exalted station, though I think something of the sort might be nearer the right thing. When I say I have preferred it, I mean, if it meets your Lordship's approbation, and I mean your Lordship's *own* approbation, for I have no wish that its pointless matter and meagre style should be published for the amusements of your retainers, and at the expense of my reputation. I have no objection, however, to your showing it privately to M. Lombard and Alexander, who will sympathize with my weakness ; for the one is my principal, and the other a brother of my Order.

“If your Lordship passes my letter, it is to proceed to his Lordship of Poitiers, and if he approves too, to pass on to the Cardinals, with such alterations as either of you may have thought requisite. If otherwise, I wish you or him to consign it to the flames.”

¹ Ep. ii. 25.

It seems probable that the second answer, like the first, was never sent : at least we hear nothing more about it. John of Salisbury's proposed letter, addressed to the same Cardinal¹, is preserved along with the rest, and is just in the mild and persuasive tone which he desiderated so much in the Archbishop.

The style assumed by William of Pavia was such as to excite real apprehensions, besides being unpleasantly dictatorial ; and, added to the reasons which already existed, seems to have determined the Archbishop finally to decline the arbitration of the Legates. This is the conclusion he comes to in writing to Cardinal Hyacinth², immediately after making some remarks upon the obnoxious letter itself. Indeed the objections which had been all along entertained against this person, were now raised to an insuperable height, and his presence in the commission was regarded as a grievance, and a source of indefinite danger, so long as it continued, to the cause of the Church. Under this impression Becket wrote to the Pope, entreating him to remove William of Pavia altogether ; and declining any how, whether this was done or not, to submit himself to such a judge : which he says he was the more warranted in doing, because that

¹ Ep. ii. 8.

² [Ep. ii. 14. "Ecce, Domine mi, literas Domini Papiensis, quas in initio adventus sui, non penitus pompositatis gloriâ carentes, nobis destinavit, has quidem poteritis inspicere, nec eas, ut credimus, notâ cujusdam jactantiæ invenietis omnino carere.—Declinabimus judicium."]

person had procured the office of Legate, solely to gratify the King of England's wishes; and had in fact forced his own appointment upon the Pope, instead of having received it from him. He even gave out publicly, without any scruple, his intentions on this head; which John of Salisbury, in writing to the Bishop of Poitiers, blames as impolitic; though he approves at the same time of the resolution itself. The first part of the letter is occupied with an account of a struggle between the citizens of Rheims and their Archbishop.

JOHN OF SALISBURY, TO THE BISHOP OF POITIERS¹.

“Great earthquakes and mighty wars have held my pen in suspense, and forced me to wait for a convenient season to write to you. For the tumults which have raged here nearly all the summer, have rendered the roads impassable to letter-carriers; and a sedition within the city of Rheims has so agitated the whole Province, that it has been scarcely safe to pass or repass the very gates.

“The citizens here, urged on by the Clergy, and backed by the soldiers, conspired against the Archbishop, who was attempting to impose certain novel and intolerable services on their city, seized on the Church towers and fortified houses, drove the Archbishop's officers out of the town, and committed many outrages. I should mention, that in the first instance they had conducted themselves with great humility, offering, as many can witness, to pay two thousand pounds into his treasury, if only he would

¹ Ep. ii. 31.

treat them justly, and suffer them to live under the laws by which the city has been governed ever since the days of Remigius, the Apostle of the French. They had also applied to his most Christian Majesty, but neither through his mediation could they prevail on the Archbishop to relent. Then they had recourse to Earl Henry, and by his advice retired before the King, whom the Archbishop had brought to his assistance to crush the city with a strong hand. The King, however, though against his will, yet in compliance with his brother's wishes, caused about fifty houses to be pulled down, and then retired. The third day after this the citizens returned, and in revenge for the destruction of their houses, utterly overthrew the houses of the knights who had sided with the Archbishop, making them suffer for their Lord. On this the Archbishop, in great wrath, called in the assistance of the Earl of Flanders, whom he brought to Rheims with one thousand men, to slay the citizens with the sword, or to make them ransom themselves on pain of torture or imprisonment. But they, having notice of the Earl's approach, again fled, stripping the city so thoroughly, that the Flemings, half starved for want of food, were scarce able to remain a single day. The Archbishop knew well that on their departure the citizens would return; so with the assistance of Earl Robert, unknown to the Flemings, he made his peace with them, and accepted of fifty pounds in compensation for damages, which, to say nothing of a hundred insults and injuries, amounted to four times that sum, and consented to abide by the ancient laws for the future. Thus, having made a discreditable and disadvantageous peace with his citizens, he still is waging war upon the Clergy, and harasses Churches which offer to submit to law.

“So much for our matters. We hear from your parts, that the Legates are arrived, but that it is still doubtful

whether we have more to hope or to fear from them. One thing at least is most certain : that his Lordship of Canterbury does not intend to submit to the judgment of the Cardinal *ad vincula* ; and this, as I think, for good reasons ; as he has hitherto taken part against him undisguisedly ; I am not however so sure that it is wise to lay open suspicions, as nakedly as I hear he does. I am told that, contrary to my advice and that of several others, he has already written to say that he is not bound to submit to his judgment, and shall not do so, with much besides which will only exasperate the man ; whereas I should think it better to give him smooth words, as a retaining fee, till his actions convict him of hostility. Peace, however, he will readily accept of at the hands of the Legates, if offered on terms consistent with the honour of God, and the Church, and his own ; but whether he will attend their colloquies, unless his goods are restored so as to give him means for supporting himself and his, I cannot yet say. What I know for certain is, that if they do not procure peace, he will insist on thorough restitution, as a preliminary to all litigation ; for that he has been violently plundered, is notorious “ *lippis et tonsoribus*.” Nor will he send any of his followers, till security is given for their safe conduct, on their way and return.

“ It seems to me that our position is somewhat altered by their arrival, and I am very desirous to hear from you by the bearer, what you think I may do consistently with conscience and honour. If these oaths are insisted on, which his Lordship the King has been accustomed to exact, I pray God that in His mercy He will grant death to me, sooner than I soil my conscience and my good name by taking them.”

The first step which the Legates designed to

take, and what they were immediately bent upon, was to confer with each side separately, in order to bring them, if they could, to some friendly understanding with each other, which might be made the basis of further arrangements. Indeed this was all that they could do to commence with; and it was necessary to do this in order to introduce themselves in a judicial character afterwards; it being the condition of their interposing judicially, that the Archbishop should previously have allowed himself to be reconciled to the King. Accordingly they were now going to treat with Henry; and were about to cross France for that purpose, which they would not however have been permitted to do, but for Becket's interference; Louis having refused them a passage for some time, in consequence of his strong prepossessions against both themselves and their cause¹. At Becket's own request a passport was at last granted; for which he received a letter of thanks from Cardinal Otho²: and the Legates proceeded to Normandy forthwith, to hold a preliminary meeting with Henry at Caen.

¹ [Ep. ii. 13. "De eo, quod causa Legationis, vel sicut Legatus, terram suam ne ingrederemini vobis interdixit, fecit quod voluit, nec deberetis idcirco irasci."]

² [Ep. ii. 13. From the Archbishop to Otho. "Memores quidem existimus, quod literis Benignitatis vestræ, nobis multas grates retulistis; quia Regem Francorum pro vobis interpellavimus."]

CHAPTER XII.

CONFERENCES WITH THE KING AND THE ARCHBISHOP.

THE first meeting of the Legates with Henry at Caen¹, was serviceable in suggesting subjects for their meeting afterwards with the Archbishop. They found the King already in a state of irritation and disgust, in consequence of the Archbishop, as he imagined, having inflamed the King of France against him ; and these feelings were heightened considerably when it appeared, on the Legates delivering their letters, that their original commission had been withdrawn, and a new and inferior one put in its place. Some vague offers of concession, however, were made on the subject of the National Usages ; the King promising that he would be satisfied with those that had been observed in former reigns.

With these topics given them to discuss, the Legates proceeded to confer with the Archbishop, whom they met at a place, agreed upon beforehand, between Gisors and Trie² ; on the Octave of St. Martin's (Nov. 18.) The King of France, it ap-

¹ Probably early in November.

² [Small towns near the borders of Normandy and France ; the former on the Norman, the latter on the French side.]

pears, gave his attendance, and remained on the spot during the meeting.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, TO THE POPE¹.
(DEC. 11.)

After thanking the Pope for curtailing the powers of the Legates, he proceeds :—

“ We were summoned by them to attend a conference, on the borders of the two countries, with only ten days’ notice ; but obtained an extension of the time for seven days longer, for the purpose of collecting our fellow-exiles ; for they were sadly dispersed, and we had only three horses at our disposal.

“ Those of us, who in so short a time, and with such narrow means, were able to assemble, met their Lordships your Legates, on the Octave of St. Martin’s², between Gisors and Trie, where we found persons in attendance, on the part of his most Christian Majesty, to provide liberally and most kindly for our reception. May God reward him ! Your Holiness has already been apprized, that it is the object of our enemies to wear us out with journeys and expenses, and so, if possible, to make us burdensome to the King of France, who extends his alms to us among the rest of Christ’s little ones. Great triumph would they conceive themselves to have achieved, if they could hunt us forth from the habitation prepared for us by the Lord, and cut off from us the alms of the King, as they already have cut off the support of the Cistercian Order.

¹ Ep. ii. 30. This letter was sent off three days before the Archbishop received the notice of the Appeal, made Dec. 9. (vide ii. 47, near the end :) which notice was received by him the day after St. Lucia’s day, i. e. Dec. 14. (vide ii. 26.)

² November 18.

“ Their Lordships arrived, attended only by the Archbishop of Rouen ; for the Bishops and Abbots of our Province, whom the King had summoned, were detained at Rouen. Their Lordships opened with propounding to us the King’s inflexibility, the badness of the times, the necessities and straitnesses of the Church, which in every part of the world but France is beset with enemies ; they spoke too of the King’s greatness and power, of the love and respect he had shown for the Church of Rome, and the intimacy, favour, and many benefits which he had vouchsafed to ourself ; and then drew exaggerated pictures of the wrongs he complains of having received from us ; stating, among other things, that we had instigated the King of France and the Earl of Flanders to make war on him. Their advice was, that with much humility, and a display of loyalty and moderation, we should study to pacify his indignation, if indeed that was possible, and to soften his exasperated feelings. They asked counsel too of us, appealing to our knowledge of his Majesty’s character, how they should act to recover his good will ; for that they too had shared his displeasure, since he learned that they had not authority, as John of Oxford had led him to expect they would have, to pass against us any sentence of condemnation. What he said in the presence of his Bishops will be conveyed to your Holiness by word of mouth, better than in writing.

“ We on our part, after expressing our thankfulness for the interest your Holiness is pleased to take in our affairs, gave them good reasons for disbelieving the imputations the King has cast upon us ; and the day following the King of France himself cleared our innocence, as far as he is concerned, by making oath of it in the presence of the Cardinals. And truly, as the Ruler and Judge of all hearts knoweth, we are blameless in this matter. We are

not so dull and hard of heart to believe the Law and Prophets, and the Gospel, as in a moment of such difficulty to exchange the arms of the Spirit for those of carnal warfare. Indeed, in order to deprive such reports of any colour of probability, we had purposely abstained for a long time from all intercourse with the King; till at length we waited on him, in consequence of a summons from himself, to present my letters of excusation, and to obtain a safe conduct for Lord Otho, the Legate, who had sent a Cleric to me with this request.....And then as soon as my excuse had been admitted, and the safe conduct obtained, we returned to the habitation of our poverty, to wait in patience for the salvation of the Lord.

“ And whereas their Lordships your Legates required of us a display of humility and moderation, such as might appease so great a Prince; we answered that we would, with all readiness and devotion, exhibit to him, as our Lord and King, all such humility and obedience as consists with the honour of God and the Apostolic See, the liberty of the Church, the dignity of our own office, and the preservation of Church property; and that, if this appeared either too much or too little, or if they would point out any thing in which it needed amendment, we would be guided by them, as far as our circumstances and profession permitted. Their Lordships declined to give advice in this matter, saying that they were come to ask counsel, not to give it; but they put it as a question, whether, to use the words of his Lordship William, ‘inasmuch as we are not better than our Fathers,’ we would consent to promise, in their presence, to observe for the King all those Usages which our predecessors had observed for his Majesty’s; and so, laying aside all further disputes, to which, however, they feared the King would not readily consent, to receive our See, and return to his favour. We

made answer, that no one of our predecessors had been compelled to make any such promise to any of his ; nor would we, by God's grace, ever pledge ourselves to the observance of Usages such as these, from which your Holiness, in the presence of themselves and many others, so mercifully absolved us at Sens ; adding, in a manner becoming a Successor of the Apostles, what we pray God to preserve ever in our memory, that rather ought we to submit our neck to the executioner, than become a party to such perversities.....On this, one, whom as your Holiness knows we have suspected and still most justly suspect, intimated that perhaps it were better for ourself to withdraw altogether, than that the Church of God should be thus tormented. We answered, that by thus withdrawing, we should set an example which must ruin the liberty of the Church, and perhaps bring into jeopardy the Christian Faith itself ; for if other shepherds withdrew in like manner, who was there to rise up and oppose himself, as a wall for the house of Israel ? We added, that neither your Holiness, nor your Apostolic predecessors, had so instructed the Church by your example.

“ They then proceeded to ask whether we proposed to abide by their judgment, as to the points in dispute between ourself and the King ; and here if we had refused, it would have given a semblance of justice to the King's cause ; yet if it pleases your Holiness, one who has shown himself our adversary, ought never to be our judge. Nor indeed should we be safe anywhere, except in your Holiness's presence ; for that King, by proscribing some and harassing others, has caused such consternation among all, that no one with his knowledge, would dare to show us any good. After considering everything, we so tempered our answer, as neither positively to decline their judgment, nor yet to expose ourself to so dangerous a trial ; stating,

that whereas ourself and ours had been deprived of our See, our authority and all our goods, we would be willing, on receiving full restitution, to submit ourself whenever and wherever your Holiness pleased, either to your own judgment, or to that of any persons whom you should please to appoint; but that till then, our poverty made litigation impossible, for that we could never call on his most Christian Majesty to be at the expense of supporting ourself and our fellow-exiles, for a long time together in hired houses.

“ They proceeded to a third question, whether we would acknowledge themselves as judges, in the case of appeal made against us by our Bishops. We answered, that on this head we had received no instructions from your Holiness, and that our poverty ill suited with an expensive litigation.

“ It was the object of our adversaries, as we learn from those who can hardly be mistaken, to seek some occasion of stigmatizing us in the presence of the Legates, and thus by one means or another to hurt our cause. It is thought that no one of our countrymen would have dared to take part with us against the King, and that thus our ruin would have been effected. The King has summoned none but those who have taken part against us from the beginning of these troubles, and who are notoriously the instigators of the whole; viz. the Archbishop of York, and the Bishops of London and Chichester, with whom the Bishop of Worcester is joined, as a blind. Yet, as your Holiness’s Wisdom will recollect, these very persons who are now most clamorous on the King’s side, and, as every one knows, thirst after our blood, on a former occasion when they petitioned your Holiness for our Pall, and for the confirmation of our Election, used very different language. But now, in contradiction at once to the truth

and their own words, they stand self-convicted, both of servility and falsehood, while, like the slave in the comedy, they say and unsay.....And thus, since those who ought to have been the primest pillars of the Church, are now engaged among its persecutors, we cannot with any safety submit to judgment, except in your Holiness's own presence. For though one of the Legates has our confidence, and the Church hopes well of him, especially in things pertaining to God, yet there is no other except your Holiness, to whom we dare to commit the Lord's cause. As to the other Legate, may God make him such as is expedient for his own good, and befitting a Roman Cardinal. As it is, it seems too likely that the event which we, if your Holiness is pleased to recollect, foresaw, will result from this conjunction between the caution, eloquence, and authority of Lord William, and the hard heart of the King of England¹."

JOHN OF SALISBURY, TO THE BISHOP OF EXETER².

"Knowing your anxiety about the state of the Church, and the event of the Legation, I send the following brief narrative, for the consolation of yourself, and of others who fear God.

¹ [In the conclusion of the letter, the reverses of Frederic are mentioned, as well as the wretched state of the Church in England; "*Septem Episcopatus vacantes, in Provinciâ nostrâ et Rothomagensi, jam a multo tempore tenet in manu sua, nec aliquos ibi patitur ordinari pastores. Clerus Regni datus est satellitibus suis, in conculcationem et prædam.*"]

² Ep. ii. 27. [The address is omitted, but the letter was probably from John of Salisbury to the Bishop of Exeter, as is here put. vide note, p. 284. In that case its address stood, "*Suo Benedicto Suus Gratianus.*"]

“ On the Octave of St. Martin’s¹, his Lordship of Canterbury and several of his co-exiles had an interview with the Legates between Gisors and Trie. The Legates said much about the kindness of his Holiness the Pope, and the solicitude with which he regards us, about their own labours, and the dangers of their journey, about the King’s greatness, and the exigencies of the Church, about the badness of the times, about the favours the King had formerly bestowed on his Lordship of Canterbury, and the honour he had always rendered him ; something too they added, about the injuries the King complained of receiving from his Lordship, intimating among other things that he had instigated the King of France to war. Finally, they wished to devise some means for allaying the existing irritation, which they said could not be effected, but with much humility, moderation, and deference.

“ His Lordship of Canterbury, with the greatest dignity and gentleness, expressed his sense of their kindness, and that of his Holiness the Pope ; and proceeded to show the futility of the King’s complaints, and the extent of the Church’s sufferings. As to the humility and deference which they recommended, he was most anxious to exhibit it in every possible way, saving only the honour of God, and the liberty of the Church, and the dignity of his own station. If this seemed too little, or too much, or in any way different from their view, he was ready to make any compliance consistent with his oaths, and saving his order.

“ They answered, that they were not sent to advise, but to consult him, and, if possible, to contrive some terms of reconciliation ; and proceeded to inquire whether, in the presence of the Legates, he would pledge himself to observe the Usages which had been observed for former Kings by his predecessors ; and thus to return to the

¹ NOV. 18.

King's favour, and to the duties of his See, and to procure peace for himself and his.

“The Archbishop replied, that no King had ever exacted such a pledge from any of his predecessors, nor would he by God's grace pledge himself to observe Usages manifestly opposed to the law of God and the rights of the Apostolic See, and destructive of the Church's liberty. That these Usages had been condemned in the presence of the Legates themselves, and of many others, by the Pope at Sens; and that some of them had been anathematized, with their observers, by himself, on the Pope's authority—for which proceeding there were many precedents.

“He was asked if, though he could not conform, he would at any rate promise to overlook and tolerate them, or, without making any mention of them one way or another, to return to his See in peace. He answered with the proverb of our nation, that in such a case ‘silence is consent¹.’ For that, if at a time when the Usages are actually enforced, and the Church is submitting under compulsion, all collision was to cease, and the subject was to be dropped, under the sanction of the Legates; this would be a positive acknowledgment of the King's claims. He added, too, that he would endure exile and proscription for ever, and, if it pleased God, death in a just cause, rather than buy peace at the cost of his own salvation, and of the liberty of the Church. After this the schedule of these abominations was read over, and the Cardinals were asked, whether they were such as any Christian could observe, much less a shepherd of Christ's flock.

“They proceeded to another question, asking whether he would abide by their judgment as to the matters be-

¹ Respondit Archiepiscopus, quod nostræ gentis proverbium est, *quod taciturnus spiritum prætendit confitentis*.

tween himself and the King. He said that he relied on the goodness of his cause ; and that, whenever himself and his should be restored to their possessions which had been confiscated, he would readily let the law take its course, and had neither the power nor the will to decline the arbitration, either of their Lordships, or of any others whom his Holiness the Pope should appoint in such time, place, and manner as should be right. But that, in the meantime, neither he nor his could be required to enter on litigation, nor indeed had they means wherewith to do so : for that they depended, even for their daily bread, on the munificence of his most Christian Majesty.

“ He was then asked whether he would consent to their hearing evidence on the appeal of the Bishops, for that the appellants were ready. The Archbishop, remembering the circumstances under which the pretended appeal had been notified to him, and that it had been conceived in the name of all the Bishops, Abbots, and Dignitaries of his Province ; whereas he well knew that they had not been assembled at Rouen, and indeed that most of them had known nothing of it, while of those who did many disapproved it as being rather an evasion than an appeal ; answered, that he had received no instructions from the Pope upon the subject, but that, on receiving them, he would return such an answer as he might judge reasonable. Finally, that the poverty of himself and his friends disabled them from undertaking lawsuits and expensive journeys,—nor would he consent to encroach on the bounty of his most Christian Majesty by asking him to maintain them in hired houses.

“ The day following his most Christian Majesty admitted the Legates to an interview, and, with the ceremony of an Oath, asserted the innocence of his Lordship of Canterbury, protesting that he had always counselled

peace on such terms, as should secure the honour of the two Kings, and the tranquillity of their people.

“ The Archbishop requested the Legates to favour him with their advice, and to point out any line of conduct which they might judge to be for the interest of the Church. They expressed their confidence in his zeal, and compassion for his sufferings, and thought his present line of conduct could not be altered for the better. On this they parted with mutual expressions of good will.

“ Such is now the state of things, and, God willing, such it shall remain, till our persecutors are either converted or perish. The Church is instant in prayer for you, that your faith fail not ; and do you, in your turn, strengthen your brethren. Show these things to those to whom you are sent,—raise the fallen—strengthen those who stand. They who are with us are more than they which are against us. He will not desert the Church in its affliction, who laid down His life to purchase it. The Saints will not desert the cause for which they feared not to shed their blood. The whole army of the Heavenly Powers join in defending it. And, if we may trust the hope of the Faithful, and the promises of the Fathers, that MAJESTY, which treads Satan under its feet, shall ere long arise against his members the ministers of iniquity ; and the issue shall be swift, easy, and joyful.”

Having failed in persuading the Archbishop either to admit Henry's new modification of his claims, which virtually left them as they stood before, since the latter would of course put his own construction upon history and precedent, though professing to appeal to them : or, on the other hand, to drop the points of dispute altogether ; which, as being a nominal reconciliation between the two

parties, would have enabled the Commission to resume its first powers, and decide the whole question authoritatively : failing in these attempts, the Legates could only return to Henry, and report what had passed.

—— TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY¹.

“ The Thursday after the Octave of St. Martin’s, the Cardinals arrived at the Monastery of Bec ; the day after at Lisieux ; the third day at St. Pierre sur Dives ; the fourth day, i. e. the Sunday before Advent, they passed through Argenton. The King came out two leagues to meet them, and welcoming them cordially, attended each to his house.

“ The day following, i. e. the Monday², early in the morning, after Mass, they were invited to attend the King, and entered the Council Chamber with the Archbishops and Abbots who had admission. On their re-appearance, after a space of about two hours, the King came out as far as the outer door of the Chapel, and there said publicly, in the hearing of the Legates, ‘ God defend me from setting eyes on a Cardinal again.’ In such haste was he to get quit of them, that, since their house was at some distance, he would not wait the arrival of their horses, but mounted them on the first that could be found near the Chapel. Thus the Cardinals took their departure, with four attendants at the most.

“ The Archbishops, Bishops, and Abbots, staid with the King, and re-entered the Council Chamber, where they remained till evening. After this they visited the Cardinals, all in evident confusion : then, after remaining

¹ Ep. ii. 6.

² Nov. 27.

some time, they returned to their houses. The day following they were closeted with the King till twelve o'clock ; then visited the Cardinals ; then returned to the King, and again to the Cardinals, carrying secret messages backwards and forwards. The day after, i. e. the Vigil of St. Andrew, the King rose with day-break, and went out to hunt and hawk. It is surmised that he absented himself on purpose. Very early the Bishops met at the Chapel Royal, and adjourned to the Council Chamber : here they deliberated in the King's absence, and then withdrew to the Church near which the Cardinals lodged.

“ When the Cardinals had taken their seats to hear what was proposed, and the others were arranged on each side, viz. the Archbishops of Rouen and York, the Bishops of Worcester, Salisbury, Baieux, London, Chichester, and many more, with vast numbers of Abbots, and a great multitude both of Clergy and Laity ; at length the Bishop of London rose : his pointless and inelegant oration sufficiently evincing the troubled state of his mind. He opened as follows :—

“ ‘ Your Lordships have heard that letters were brought to us from his Holiness the Pope, which we have now by us, in which his Holiness signified to us that, on receiving a summons from your Lordships, we should come to meet you ; for that your Lordships were entrusted with full powers to decide the cause now pending between his Lordship the King and his Lordship of Canterbury, and also that between the Bishops of England and the same Archbishop.

“ ‘ In consequence, as soon as we heard of your arrival in these parts, we hastened to meet you, ready to abide by your decision, and to take our parts as well in accusation as defence. In like manner his Lordship the King is pre-

pared to ratify any sentence which you may pronounce respecting himself and his Lordship of Canterbury.

“ ‘ Since, then, no impediment is raised on the part either of his Lordship the King, or of your Lordships, or of ourselves, to thwart his Holiness’s instructions, let the blame rest where it is due.

“ ‘ But because, with his accustomed precipitation, the Archbishop strikes before he threatens, suspends and excommunicates before he admonishes, for this reason we anticipate his headlong sentence by an appeal. We have appealed already before this, and we renew our appeal now ; and in this appeal all England includes itself.’

“ He then proceeded to state the dispute between yourself and the King,—that the King demanded of you 44000 marks of silver, on account of revenues which passed into your hands when Chancellor, and that you asserted that all your accounts were settled before you were made Archbishop ; but even had this been otherwise, your promotion to the Archbishopric of itself acquitted you of them. And here his Lordship was witty at your expense, saying that you thought promotion remitted debts, as Baptism did sins.

“ He proceeded to recount the difficulties which had driven himself and the other Bishops to appeal, viz. your oppression of himself and his See, and the danger of a schism against the Roman Church : for that the King was likely to schismatise, if they obeyed your Interdict.

“ He said, too, that you defamed the King for his Statutes : also he publicly protested that the King would relax that Statute in which he forbade appeals ; and that it was only for the sake of the poorer Clergy that he had enacted it ; and that what irritated him most was their ingratitude ; and that if the cause was Civil, they should contend before a Civil judge ; if Ecclesiastical, they might choose their own Court, and contend as they would.

“ Lastly, he said that you imposed unfair burdens on himself, commanding him to disperse your Briefs through England, and that forty couriers were not enough for this : and, as a farther grievance, that you had withdrawn from his jurisdiction nearly forty Churches, on the ground that they had formerly paid rents to the Monastery of St. Trinity or St. Augustine’s ; and that you had your Dean stationed in the City of London, to keep a look out on him, and to try causes which concerned the aforesaid Churches ; and that these grievances were directed against himself, more than any other Bishop.

“ His Lordship of Salisbury joined in the appeal, in his own name and that of the Bishop of Winchester. Likewise the Archdeacon of Canterbury appealed against you, and one of the Monks of your Convent.

“ The Cardinals left the King the Thursday following the first Sunday in Advent. On their departure the King entreated them most humbly that they would intercede with the Pope to rid him of you altogether. In asking this he shed tears in the presence of the Cardinals and others. Lord William of Pavia seemed to weep too, but Lord Otho could scarcely conceal his amusement.

“ The sum of the matter is this : Lord William of Pavia sends a Chaplain of his, a relative of M. Lombard, with all haste to the Pope ; and the King sends two envoys, a retainer of the Bishop of London, called M. Henry, and with him Reginald, son of the Bishop of Salisbury¹.

¹ [Reginaldus Lombardus, in Fitz-Stephen and the Quadri-
logue ; a name given him from his having been educated in
Lombardy. He was the son of the present Bishop of Salisbury ;
and from Ep. ii. 5. iii. 2. we find that he was Archdeacon of
Salisbury. He began with being a follower of the Archbishop,
but shortly left him for Henry’s Court : ‘ a Patris (the Arch-
bishop) agone et paupertate ad Aulam confestim se transtulit,

“Moreover, the Saturday before the second Sunday in Advent, M. Jocelin of Chichester, and the Precentor of Salisbury, left the Cardinals, who were then at Evreux, to denounce to your Lordship the appeal made by the Clergy of England. Likewise they bear letters to you. The Cardinals salute you with the style and title of Legate of the Apostolic See, but in the conclusion of the letter they forbid you, on the Pope’s authority, to pronounce any Interdict against the kingdom of England or its Clergy.

“Lord Otho gives the Pope secret information, that he will neither authorise nor consent to your deposition.

“The King seems to have no wish but for your head in a charger.

“Farewell.”

JOHN OF SALISBURY, TO THE BISHOP OF EXETER¹.

“I need not apologize for my novel mode of addressing you: in these bad times, when spies are so alert every where, one is forced to set custom at defiance; so necessity

ut ibi militans principi fortius præliaretur contra Patrem.’ In which way we find him employing himself at present, i. e. as envoy against his former master. The Archbishop’s martyrdom, however, turned him round again to his old side. In the *Quadriologue* he appears as one of the ‘*Catalogus Eruditorum Beati Thomæ Martyris*,’ and is described as ‘*prudens et industrius, animosus et efficax in agendis (rebus).*’ He was eventually promoted to the Bishopric of Bath. *Quadril.* p. 158.]

¹ Ep. ii. 26. In the Ep. D. T. it is the Bishop of Poitiers, but it was most probably the Bishop of Exeter. For the letter, from its contents, seems the one alluded to in ii. 110, (below p. 304) as addressed ‘*Benedicto*,’ which is the address to the Bishop of Exeter, ii. 108. At any rate it cannot have been intended for the Bishop of Poitiers, as he was in the way to hear every thing as well as John of Salisbury, and received ii. 51 from the latter at the same time, and on the same subject.

must bear the blame for my lack of courtesy.....I promised, you know, to send you our news as things came to light; so now I lose no time in notifying to you what changes have taken place since I wrote last by M. Reginald's servant.

“ I then told you¹ what had passed in the colloquy between the Cardinals and his Lordship of Canterbury, between Gisors and Trie. On their separating, the Cardinals found the King so angry, that he openly complained the Pope had betrayed him, and threatened that he would disown him, unless he caused justice to be done on his Lordship of Canterbury. Then, after much debating on this side and on that side, when the King had consulted, now with his Nobles, then with the Bishops and Abbots; now with his Ministers, then with the Cardinals; now with both Cardinals together, then with one without the other; at last he surrendered himself to justice, saying he would abide by their judgment and decree, respecting all the points in dispute between himself and his Lordship of Canterbury; and what is more, that he would at once bind himself on oath and by sureties, and in any other way the Cardinals pleased, not to transgress any jot or tittle of their commands, if only they would do to him, what is due to every one, i. e. justice. On their replying, that they had received no powers to act as judges over his Lordship of Canterbury, but simply as mediators, the King requested them to inform the Pope of his condescending conduct, as it was reported to them by those wise and holy men the Archbishop of York, the Bishops of London, Chichester, and Worcester, from the other side the water, and of Rouen, Lisieux, and Baieux, on this.

“ After this the Bishop of London stepped forth, and, vomiting some of his poison on his Archbishop, brought

¹ [Ep. ii. 27 is probably alluded to.]

forward his own cause and that of the others who had appealed against his Lordship of Canterbury, pressing, in the name of the kingdom and the Priesthood, that it should be heard and brought to an issue. The Legates stated, that they could not compel his Lordship of Canterbury to contend before them, and that it was not his pleasure to do so. Then the Bishop and the rest who were there, in the name of the kingdom and the Priesthood, appealed in their insolence, to prevent his Lordship of Canterbury from proceeding farther against either; and placed both under the protection of his Lordship the Pope, till the day of appeal, which they have thus prorogued for another year, i. e. till the Feast of St. Martin. The Bishop of London, too, introduced certain special causes of his own, impugning the liberty of the Churches which the Archbishop has in his Diocese.

“When all was over, the Cardinals sent two messengers to his Lordship of Canterbury, who the day after the feast of St. Lucia¹ delivered him letters² containing most of what I have told you; and prohibiting him, in the name of the Pope and the Legates, from acting in disregard of the appeal, till the Pope had been consulted.

“The Bishops too sent two messengers, Walter, Precentor of Salisbury, and M. Jocelin, Chancellor of Chichester, to denounce the appeal, and renew it in the Archbishop's presence; but he would not give them a hearing; first, because one of the Bishops was London, whom he regards as excommunicate³, and had denounced as such to the Cardinals; secondly, because they had held communion with excommunicates, whose fraudulent absolution some foolish people thought valid.

“The fact was, that the Pope had been prevailed on to

¹ Dec. 14.

² [Ep. ii. 29.]

³ [Cf. Ep. ii. 20, 14.]

allow their absolution, if in peril of death, on condition they made oath to abide by his mandate if they recovered. But they, having received the King's command to cross the water and go into Wales, pretending to be in peril of death, obtained absolution from a certain Welsh Bishop, ignorant alike of each branch of the law, Llandaff I mean, who had covetously procured from the King the Monastery of Abingdon, in exchange for his Bishopric¹. On this, to prevent all doubt as to the meaning of the Pope's instructions, the Archbishop sent the Legates letters Apostolic², strictly charging them to replace under their former sentence all persons so absolved, unless they forthwith restored to the Archbishop and his, all the goods that had been seized by them, whole and entire; nor was any appeal to serve as an impediment to this mandate. They had received other letters³ too before, instructing them to labour for the reconciliation of the Kings, on such terms that neither should have reason to complain; also they had been forbidden to enter England, or interfere in any way with the affairs of the Kingdom, till peace had been plenarily restored to the Archbishop.

“When the Bishops had made their appeal, in their own name and that of the Kingdom, a certain Cleric of Geoffrey, Archdeacon of Canterbury, appealed in behalf of his master; so did one of the Monks of Canterbury, who however was not sent for that purpose by his brethren, but simply to implore the King's protection against the infamous Raoul de Brock, who, on the death of the Prior, put forth his hand on their possessions.

¹ [This took place on John of Oxford's return from Rome,—vid. Ep. ii. 103: “Ille rediens cum triumpho Sacrilegos impenitentes fecit absolvi. vid. p. 253.”]

² [Ep. ii. 104; also ii. 24.]

³ [Ep. ii. 34.]

“The Archbishop wrote back to the Cardinals, that he well knew, and that they could not be ignorant, how far their commands were binding on him; and that by God’s grace he should act as he thought most for the interest of the Church. He sent them also a verbal message by their messengers and his own, finding fault with their conduct, for manifold and obvious causes. Likewise he called on them to fulfil the Pope’s instructions about the excommunicates, either urging them to satisfaction, or replacing them under sentence. Up to this time it was hardly credible, that his Lordship of Pavia, with all his plausibility, would have been able to subvert the fidelity of his colleague; but now, with the levity and hollowness of a reed, he bends before a wind, whose sound only, and not its breath, has reached him. Perhaps, as was hitherto believed, the spirit of the man is willing, but most assuredly his flesh is weak. As to Lord William, what was always believed of him is now certain. The same spirit and fidelity which he displayed in the cause of the Church of Rome, before the Emperor at Pavia, he could display again, if it were permitted him, with the assistance of King Henry, in the cause of the Church of England.

“When his Lordship of Canterbury had resolved not to subject himself to the judgment of these Cardinals, the next thing to be discussed was peace between the Kings. The King of England and Earl Henry are contending which shall outwit the other; but whatever they may have conceived, they have not yet brought forth any thing worth telling you, so I leave their matters for another time.

“The Archbishop of Lyons recovered his Church and City, to the joy of all, on the Feast of St. Martin’s. The same day, Frederic, the Ex-emperor, engaged the Milanese, and was put to flight, with the loss of twenty-five of his

knights. His Lordship the Pope's ambassadors are returned with presents from Constantinople, where high honours were paid them ; and likewise others from the King of Sicily. He himself prospers in the ways of the Lord, making his stay at Beneventum.

“ When any thing more comes to light worth telling, with God's permission I will send you word at once.

“ Farewell now and ever.”

The conferences being closed, the Legates sent the Pope a relation of their whole proceedings, from the first commencement ; in a style, it will be observed, not at all favourable to the Archbishop.

THE LEGATES TO THE POPE¹.

“ Beatissimo Patri et Domino, Dei gratia, Summo Pontifici, Willielmus et Otho, eadem gratia, Cardinales, salutem et subjectionis obsequia, tam devota quam debita.

“ On reaching the territories of the illustrious King of England, we found the controversy between himself and the Archbishop of Canterbury aggravated to a most undesirable point.

“ The King and the better part of his Court asserted, that the said Archbishop had maliciously exasperated the most serene King of France against him², and urged his relative, the Earl of Flanders, who before had borne him no kind of ill-will, all of a sudden to send his defiance, and make war on him with all his might. This they said they had good reason to know ; for that the Earl had left the King on a friendly footing, but that the Archbishop had

¹ Ep. ii. 28.

² [The charge against the Archbishop is noticed, but the denial of Louis to it is not.]

gone in person to the scene of war, and done his best to urge the King and the said Earl to take part in it.

“ Under these circumstances we had our first interview with the King of England, at Caen. We delivered your Holiness’s letters into the King’s hands in due form, and they were read through and carefully examined before the Council. It appeared that they were less full than certain others, which he had before received from your Holiness on the same matter, and in some points at variance with them. On this the King showed very great displeasure, and said he had not the least doubt, that, since we left your Holiness, the Archbishop had received letters exempting him from our jurisdiction ; so that he was now under no obligation to answer before us. He affirmed, too, that what your Holiness had been informed respecting the ancient Usages of England, was in a great measure false ; and to this the Bishops gave their testimony in our presence. Moreover, he offered, if it should appear that in his time any fresh Usages had been introduced into England, inconsistent with the Church’s Statutes, to revoke and annul them at your Holiness’s pleasure.

“ We therefore on our part, together with the Archbishops, Bishops, and Abbots of his dominions, unwilling to lose all prospect of peace, and in hope of inclining the King to it, used our utmost endeavours to effect an interview with the Archbishop and obtain his consent to undergo judgment. For this purpose we sent him our private Clerics, with letters appointing a safe place of meeting, where we might confer together on the Feast of St. Martin. He, however, pretending we know not what excuses, changed the day from the Feast to the Octave,—a proceeding which the King took more bitterly than we could have imagined. And because the above-named Archbishop, though we offered him a safe conduct, would

on no account consent to meet us within the border of the King of England's territory, in our anxiety to defer to him, we attended a place of his own appointment, in the territory of the King of France ; that his affairs might not be impeded by any obstacle raised on our part.

“ When the colloquy had been now announced, our first effort was to persuade and exhort him, with all earnestness, to exhibit towards his Lordship the King, by whom he had been loaded with so many favours, such humility of deportment as might furnish us with a ground for asking peace: to this, after conversing apart with his followers, he made answer, that he would humble himself before the King to our satisfaction, saving God's honour and the Church's liberty, and the dignity of his station, and the property of his Churches, and likewise the justice of his own cause and of his followers. When he had made this enumeration, we pressed on him the necessity of descending to particulars ; and as he advanced nothing definite or particular, we proceeded to ask him whether, on the counts mentioned in your Holiness's letters, he was willing to submit to us as judges, as the King and Bishops had already promised they would do. To this he replied at once, that on this head he had received no instructions from your Holiness ; but that, if first of all full restitution was made to him and his, he would then proceed according as he should be instructed by the Apostolic See.

“ Thus, finding that his words in no way tended either towards judicial proceedings, or yet concord, and that he was determined in no account to enter on the cause, we returned from the colloquy, and laid the result of our enquiry before the King, suppressing as much as was fit, and modifying the rest. When we had made an end of speaking, the King and great men who were with him, forthwith maintained that he was now absolved, from the

time that the Archbishop refused judgment. At last, after much confusion, the Archbishops, Bishops and Abbots of the Realm of England, and not a few of the Clergy, enquired anxiously of us, whether by any special mandate, or by the tenour of our Legatine Commission, we had authority to compel the said Archbishop to submit; and when they learned that we had no such power, fearing lest the same Archbishop, in defiance of judicial order, should, as he had done on a former occasion, impose grievances on the great persons of the Realm, since our presence was in that case an insufficient protection, they took counsel together, and with one consent appealed to your Holiness's hearing, fixing the winter festival of St. Martin for the term of the appeal; and in the meantime placing themselves and theirs under Apostolical protection, and including the great persons of the Realm, and the whole kingdom under the ban of the same. Finally, we ourselves seeing this matter to verge toward the great detriment of the Church, have, on your Holiness's authority and our own, prohibited the aforesaid Archbishop, as well because it is forbidden in your Holiness's letters, as on account of the appeal, from attempting any grievance against the Realm, its Dignitaries, or its Churches. May it be your Holiness's business to provide lest this matter redound to the heavy loss of the Church, as those fear who most wish its welfare."

Such is the conclusion of the present series of conferences. The Legates, failing in their overtures, are compelled to withdraw: and the Bishops and State party being left with no security against the Archbishop's exercising his spiritual powers,

have recourse to a second appeal¹, to last for another year, in which step they are supported by the Legates, though, strictly speaking, the latter had no right to interfere on one side or the other. The Bishops take the whole business of appealing upon themselves, and write in their own name, and in behalf of the King and Realm at the same time.

THE ENGLISH BISHOPS TO THE POPE².

“When it was ascertained from the confession of the Legates themselves, that to decide the cause, on account of which they had come, was altogether beyond their commission; and that the concessions which your Holiness had made and confirmed in writing, to our Lord the King, no longer held good, the burst of his indignation was indescribable; nor were our joint entreaties able for a long time to pacify him. Thus has a sad cloud obscured all the joy which your Holiness’s Legates had caused by their arrival.

¹ [“Evoluto anno appellationem renovant—eludentes ejus potestatem hujusmodi frustrationibus. Noluerunt intelligere, quod appellatio hominum est adinventio, de jure civili est, introducta est ad repellenda injusta gravamina imminencia possessionibus nostris vel corporibus. Unde etiam Beatus Paullus, corpori suo timens, cum caperetur, ait, ‘Cæsarem appello.’ In talibus habet locum appello, nec videtur sapientibus Catholicis, quod extendi debeat ad tollendam obedientiam, ad evacuandam majorem potestatem ecclesiasticam, ad elidendam excommunicationem, quæ non de jure humano, sed ab ore Jesu Christi est introducta, potestatem hanc dantis Apostolis suis, ubi dicit, ‘Quæcunque ligaveritis....’ Absit enim ut jus humanum præjudicet juri divino, et quod humanæ est adinventionis, annihilat illud quod divinæ est constitutionis.” Fitz-Stephen, p. 56.]

² Ep. ii. 33.

“The King’s wrath was still further inflamed by the speeches of his Nobles, who urged that no resource was now left for himself and his realm against the Archbishop of Canterbury; since the Appeal had already expired, and the Legates were unable to give him any assistance. The excitement which prevails on this ground among the Princes of the Realm is such, that unless your Holiness’s wisdom can devise some remedy, you will soon have to grieve over a sad rent in the garment of Christ: for the whole energies of his Lordship of Canterbury are intent on binding the King with an anathema, and his realm with an Interdict.

“The power which he has received, not for the destruction of the Church, but for its edification, is so exercised by him as to excite the King’s subjects to hate their Lord and his Nobles, whose property he destines for spoliation, their necks for the sword, or their bodies for exile.

“In his numberless letters, he imposes on others heavy burdens which himself when present did not touch with his little finger, much less support on his shoulder. Ourselves he invites to death and bloodshed, while for his own part he fled when no man threatened; and is careful over his blood—yea, the smallest drop of it.....He preaches forth the liberty of the Church, of which his own intrusion into the See of Canterbury was a notorious violation. The Usages of the Realm he makes the theme of his raillery, and represents them in his letters to your Holiness far other than they are. The authority of the sacred Canons he sets at nought, excommunicating after appeal, and suspending without commonition and citation. Things which are neither known nor yet even true, he asserts to be notorious. And everything else in like manner, with his whole might he turns upside down.

“Besides all this, 40000 marks, or more, as is asserted,

were intrusted to his keeping by the King, which, in defiance of justice, he now refuses to pay back : thus denying to his Lord and Master, what even a Heathen or Publican would have a right to claim of him.

“ Wherefore, to relieve ourselves from the aforesaid grievances, and lest, through our silence and indiscreet connivance, anything should be allowed to happen which might alienate our Lord the King from your Holiness, and likewise his Realm and People, we hereby appeal to your Holiness against the Judgments of his Lordship of Canterbury, which we suspect, and against all his Mandates, importing any grievances either to his Lordship the King, or his Realm, or our own persons, or the Churches and Parishes entrusted to us ; committing ourselves in all things to your Holiness’s wisdom, and placing ourselves under your protection. For the term of our appeal, we have fixed on the day of the Blessed St. Martin.”

CHAPTER XIII.

CONDUCT OF THE LEGATES AFTER THE CONFERENCES.

AFTER the Conferences, the Archbishop wrote a letter to the Pope, on the subject of the treatment he had received from the Legates ; urging that they had virtually suspended him by their restrictions¹. “O, my Lord,” he adds, “would that your promises had not been given to gladden our hearts for nothing ! We have endured long, at your Holiness’s request. We have waited to receive help at the hands of your Legates ; and, lo ! a greater distress, a more violent discomfiture has come upon us.....It is not long since your Lordship received letters from his most Christian Majesty, the Queen, and some of the chief Nobles and Bishops in his realm, besides other friends of your’s of less account, full of rejoicing, and giving thanks to God and your Lordship, because that, from the intimations

¹ Ep. ii. 47. “Suspenderunt ipsi nos, quantum in eis est ab omni auctoritate.”

of the Legates themselves on their arrival, it appeared that the assertions of the Swearer John of Oxford and the other envoys respecting the humiliation and overthrow designed for us in their appointment, were fraudulent and false. But that thanksgiving is now turned to lamentation, that joy to sorrow ; and our last fall is even worse than our first.”

The leaning of the Archbishop's mind seems to have been throughout to take an unfavourable view of his own situation and prospects. And at this time, over and above the particular troubles that have been just related, the state of the Church in England was a subject of more than usual concern to him : whether owing to any new persecutions on Henry's part, or to his own thoughts being carried more in that direction, in consequence of his recent disappointments, it does not appear. He seems to have considered himself as in some sense responsible, though not culpably so, for the state of Ecclesiastical affairs in England ; that having been brought about by Henry's hostility to him, and his own departure from the country, which, however it may have tended ultimately to the Church's good, still left her for the time disordered and defenceless. In his letter to the Cardinals¹, most of which has been already given, on introducing this subject, he says :—“ Can you pretend to be ignorant, that the King of England has been, and is now, day

¹ Ep. ii. 46, p. 248.

after day seizing the possessions of the Church, and overthrowing her liberties : that he puts forth his hand every where indiscriminately upon the Clergy, the anointed of the Lord, imprisoning and beheading, tearing out the eyes of some, forcing others to the trial of single combat, and to the ordeals of fire and water : that the Bishops again refuse to obey their Metropolitan, the inferior Clergy their Bishops, and that excommunications have no weight any where.” And in another place :—“ It has now come to that pass, that our King, not content with imitating the Sicilians, even outstrips them. Yet the Clergy on all sides flock to his Court. They are made Court Chaplains, and on that pretext have oaths imposed upon them, which will secure to the King for the future, as a matter of course, what at present rests only on the authority of his own will and pleasure. All things go one way, viz. to the ruin of the Church : nor is there any one to resist an invader, or reprove a defaulter, or punish an offence.”

John of Salisbury, however, in his letters at this time, inclines to a more favourable view of the state of parties and the prospects of the Church. The King had promised to give up two of the worst decrees of Clarendon¹ ; that viz. for bringing the Clergy before the secular Courts ; and that which made it unlawful to appeal to the Pope without the Prince’s permission. The Legates had been com-

¹ Ep. ii. 105. John of Salisbury to the Archdeacon of Surrey.

pelled to retire, for want of judicial powers: and the Emperor had met with a severe reverse in Italy, which promised results highly favourable to the Archbishop's cause, in the confidence it would impart to the Church party generally, and the strength the Pope would receive from it in treating with Henry. The following letter gives the news of the Emperor's excommunication.

JOHN OF SALISBURY, TO WILLIAM, SUB-PRIOR OF
CANTERBURY¹.

“ By the grace of God health is rapidly returning to the Universal Church. The fierceness of the Schismatics is refrained, and the pride of Moab waxes weaker and weaker. No longer, as formerly, are they harassed by night, but at mid-day Ar has been undermined, and its walls utterly thrown down. The haughtiness of Moab has been constrained to bow before St. Peter, and will trouble us no more. Hence there is hope in the Lord that, when the trumpets of the Priests sound, the walls of Jericho may next fall, and that the spouse and guardian of the Church, Jesus Christ, may obtain His Kingdom in triumph, and possess it in peace.

“ After the High-Priest of Rome had long and patiently waited for the German Tyrant, if even so he might be recalled to penitence; but the Schismatic abusing his long-suffering, had waxed daily worse and worse, going on from folly to madness; he the Vicar of St. Peter, whom the Lord had set over Nations and over Kingdoms, absolved from their allegiance the Italians and all others,

¹ Ep. ii. 89.

who were bound to it by oath, either under the Kingdom or the Empire ; and with such ease and rapidity did he shake off all Italy from its enraged Lord, in his very presence, that nothing now seems left him there except persecutors, whom he contrives sometimes to escape, and straits and difficulties which he never can.

“ He has deprived him too of his Royal Dignity, and condemned him with an anathema, and has forbidden him, on God’s authority, ever more to have strength in battle, or to obtain a victory over any Christian man, or ever again to enjoy peace or quietness, till he does worthy fruits of penance. In this he has followed the example of the seventh Gregory, his predecessor, by whom in our age the Emperor Henry, when rooting up the privileges of the Church, having been deposed in a Roman Council, was condemned by a like sentence. And in truth that sentence took its effect, and this too which has been passed according to the privilege of St. Peter, the Lord himself appears to have confirmed. For as soon as it was made public, the Italians deserted him, rebuilt Milan, drove out the Schismatics, reinstated the Catholic Bishops, and with one accord adhered to the Apostolic See.

“ But why do I dwell on what all mankind know. These things fame heralds forth with a trumpet-voice, nor do I think that any soul can doubt about them, except perhaps those who are exiles at their own homes.”

The Legates, though they had withdrawn from public communication with either side, still continued their presence in the neighbourhood, and seemed unwilling wholly to quit the chance of establishing a reconciliation. In this situation an opportunity soon offered itself for outstepping the

negative part assigned to them. The excommunicates, who on the return of John of Oxford from Rome had been irregularly absolved, in order to put themselves out of their ambiguous state, applied to the Legates for a second absolution. Their request was granted ; and before long an order was sent by the Legates to that effect, addressed to two English Bishops¹, with the addition that they were to lose no time in putting it into execution.

The Archbishop conceived himself bound to protest against this measure ; especially as the persons so absolved had never intimated any intention to restore the Church property, for the seizure of which they had been in the first instance excommunicated. He wrote to the Pope, informing him of the matter, and received in return a letter addressed to the Legates, commanding them on no account to absolve the excommunicated persons, unless they consented to make proper restitution. This letter was forwarded to the Legates, but they declined taking official notice of it, for reasons which are explained in the following.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, TO HIS ENVOYS
ALEXANDER AND JOHN².

“ You knew before you left us, that we had sent to their Lordships the Cardinals, by a Canon Regular of St. John, copies of his Lordship the Pope’s letters, forbidding

¹ Ep. ii. 101. To the Bishops of Norwich and Chichester.

² Ep. ii. 109.

the absolution of the excommunicates, unless they made oath to restore all that they had taken from us and ours : and in case they afterwards refused, commanding the renewal of their sentence. Afterwards, however, we sent the originals themselves by Lord Osbert, Subdeacon of the Court of Rome, who delivered them to the Cardinals in person, and then they made answer by the above-named Canon, ‘that the excommunicates aforesaid, whose names we had expressed in the schedule, had received the revenues of ourself and ours by the King’s Mandate and authority, and therefore that as long as they were in his territory-it was impossible to do justice on them.’ They added too, that our cause was so hateful to the King himself, that neither themselves nor any others dared mention us to him ; or even hint at a remonstrance on any matters relating to us. His Lordship Otho too said in secret to our messenger, and do you keep it secret, except from his Lordship the Pope and the most trusty of our friends, that his Lordship the Pope must give them no Mandate of a kind to offend the King ; for that while they were in his dominions, neither for the Pope, nor for any other mortal, would they on any account oppose him.

“ Thus it is on all accounts expedient, nay imperatively necessary, for you to make every exertion to procure from his Lordship the Pope the recall of these Cardinals, with strict orders to quit the King’s dominions at once.

“ Concerning London and Salisbury, remember the instructions we gave you, and act diligently on them.

“ By the bearer of these we send you letters from my Lord the King on our behalf, and the letters of the Cardinals which they sent us by the Canon above-mentioned ; also Lord Otho’s private letters, which we wish you to keep private, and to show them to no one but the Pope.

“ Besides all this, we have been given to understand

that the proposal of William of Pavia, which he made to the King and perhaps to others, about translating me, has received some countenance from the Pope ; for that, unless they had some reliance of this sort, the King would never have caught at it as he has, nor persisted in it. Now we wish his Lordship the Pope and our other friends to know, and do you take care to impress it upon them, that sooner than suffer myself to be torn from my Mother the Church of Canterbury, which has nourished and raised us to our present station, God the inspector of hearts knoweth, I would consent to be slaughtered. Let them waste no labour on such a prospect, for there is no calamity which we would not prefer to that.

“ You may inform them also that, if every other grievance was removed, yet so long as that man retains the possession of our own, or any other Church in his dominions, I would rather die any death than basely live and suffer him to enjoy them in impunity.”

The Legates extended their patronage also to the Bishop of London, who was still considered by the Archbishop to lie under sentence of excommunication ; both writing separately¹ to recommend his case to the Pope, and noticing more particularly his having acted so faithful a part as counsellor to Henry. The Archbishop himself, on their strongly pressing him, consented to suspend the sentence for the present, in consequence of their representing to him that they had still hopes of bringing about a reconciliation².

The last letter mentions a project for translating

¹ Ep. ii. 97, 98.

² Ep. ii. 106.

the Archbishop¹, suggested by William of Pavia, as a way of finishing the contest. This project, it seems, excited considerable attention in England; and, amongst others, was warmly taken up by the Bishop of Worcester, a prelate of high character, who had received his consecration from Becket. His doing so gave great disappointment to his former friends, as appears from John of Salisbury's remarks upon it.

JOHN OF SALISBURY, TO M. BALDWIN, ARCHDEACON
OF EXETER².

“One must not trifle when there are serious matters to speak of, and like cheating medicines give one's friends words, instead of things. You know of old, I never approved the dogma of your Nominalists; for all wise men know that philosophy seeks things not words. So to deal with you after my Realist fashion, I refer you to the letters which I have sent our friend Benedict, where you will see at length how matters stand between the Kingdom and the Priesthood.

“I wish however to say a few words to you in particular, on a matter which just now gives me great pain, and

¹ [“Rex misit Domino Papæ nuncium Reginaldum Lombardum, ut cum Domino Papa ageret, vel de transferendo Archiepiscopo ad alium titulum Archiepiscopalis Ecclesiæ, quum de depositione ipsius totiens frustra temptatus Dominus Papâ, semper immobilis et pecuniæ spreto invertus est; vel de revocanda potestate illa commissa Archiepiscopo animadvertendi in eum; vel de dilatione dandæ sententiæ sub spe pacis et reconciliationis Archiepiscopi, quam Domino Papæ rex permisit. Et quidem ultimum illud Reginaldus ille a Domino Papâ impetravit.” Fitz-Stephen, p. 62.]

² Ep. ii. 110.

which you I think will be deeply distressed at, if at least there is any truth in what has reached my ears from many quarters. It is said that our friend the Bishop of Worcester has been acting very indiscreetly in the cause of his Archbishop and Consecrator, maintaining before the Bishops and others, that the cause of his Lordship of Canterbury was hollow, and that he did not really care for the liberty of the Church, but sought his own things, not the things of Jesus Christ; for that he will not resign; though the King offers on that condition to restore the liberty of the Church for ever. It is said too that he added insultingly, that for his part he would give up his Bishopric on those terms.

“I have told you this that, if you can find an opportunity, you may persuade my Lord and friend to clear his reputation. All whom this report has reached grieve, as I do, over this falling off from his past life and reputation. His Lordship of Canterbury will allow no one to speak of it, saying that such rumours should never be listened to; especially against such a person. I know however that he was a good deal shocked.

“You will see from the Rescript of his Lordship the Pope’s letters, on what ground the Archbishop has after many communications denounced the Bishop of London excommunicate; and why he holds those who were absolved under false pretences by the Bishop of Llandaff, as still under sentence, till they comply with the Pope’s mandate. Since the Cardinals have so manifestly outstepped the limits of their instructions, he will pay less attention to their counsels. They have received no power to act judicially in his affairs, except with his own consent.

“The caution I wish you to give my Lord of Worcester, is meant in sincere good will for him. Whenever an occasion offers, my best services shall be at his disposal.”

The Legates having declined to give effect to the orders of the Pope, respecting the excommunicates, measures were still going on for their absolution. It would appear however that the Bishops originally chosen to perform it¹, found means to avoid so hazardous an office. And it was at last thrust upon the Bishop of Exeter, whose quiet temper, and moderate views to a certain extent even inclining to the Archbishop's side, seemed to point him out as a fit person to execute their designs on the present occasion, and stand the chance of whatever penalty might come in consequence; especially as the choice of him would embarrass the Archbishop, who would naturally feel a reluctance to treat a harmless person, and only an instrument in the hands of others, with severity, while he would be obliged to leave the real offenders untouched².

At this time too the Appeal, which had been got up at the late conferences, was going the round of the Bishops; and, as it was important that some among them, of good name and character, should appear to support it, it was expected that the

¹ The Bishops of Norwich and Chichester.

² [The affair of the absolution was evidently meant to have been despatched immediately, before the Archbishop had time to prevent it; for the letter of the Legates enjoins *speed*. And therefore the Archbishop takes care, that the Pope's letter forbidding it, should be worded so as to nullify the absolution, even if it had taken place. However for some reason or other, probably fear on the part of the Bishops, a delay takes place, and the Pope's letters arrive and are forwarded to the Legates, before anything is done.]

Bishop of Exeter would be called upon to subscribe. John of Salisbury, as soon as he hears of these difficulties, steps in with some advice and suggestions, which he sends to the Archdeacon of Exeter, to submit to his Bishop.

JOHN OF SALISBURY, TO BALDWIN, ARCHDEACON OF
EXETER¹.

“You have probably heard the result of the interview between his Lordship of Canterbury and the Cardinals, and how the Bishops who have crossed the water have at last appealed against their Metropolitan; the letters, of which I enclose copies, will explain the whole minutely.

“I have courted the acquaintance of his Lordship of Canterbury and his co-exiles, with a view to rendering them any service I could; and both he and they have thought fit to admit me to their confidence. Most of them are old friends of yours, and continue to regard you as a brother, and consider that much is due from them to your friends for your sake. For this reason, though your friend the Bishop of Exeter has not as yet rendered them any kind of service, I am sorry on your account for the difficulties in which he is likely to be involved. God protect him, and do you assist him with prayer, and almsgiving, and counsel, as you obtain grace from the Father of Lights. Unless God prevents, he will have to offend either the Archbishop and his own conscience, or the King and his Cardinals.

“He will soon receive, if he has not yet, certain communications from the Legates, instructing him to absolve

¹ Ep. ii. 106.

his Lordship of Canterbury's excommunicates, whereas, nevertheless, they have no authority to give such instructions; indeed are expressly forbidden to enter England, or meddle at all in the King's affairs, unless the Archbishop is first plenarily reinstated. Also, by a further order, they are bound, as you will see by the letters of which I send you a copy, to replace under sentence all such excommunicates without delay, and without appeal; unless they make satisfaction. Moreover, the Cardinal of Pavia has just absolved the Archdeacon of Poitiers; whence it is plain, that the absolution before conferred on him by the Welsh Bishop was nothing; and that those who have communicated with him since are not quite safe.

“If under these circumstances his Lordship of Exeter absolves them, and it should appear that they are not penitent; in the first place he will offend God, and besides, incur the grave displeasure of the Archbishop; if he does not absolve them, he must face the wrath of the King and his Cardinals.

“If their Lordships the Cardinals were careful of their ways, if they feared the Lord, and did not make flesh their right arm, they might have thought over what they undertook in their Commission, what was the aim and tenor of the Letters Apostolic, and what the exigencies of the Church; and then surely they would have abstained from giving any such instructions. Or again, though they feared man rather than God, why did they not impose the office on one of the Bishops that were present, and were to return immediately? Their Lordships of London, Salisbury, Chichester, and Worcester, were all there, but they must needs lay the burden on the shoulders of the Bishop of Exeter. However if report says true, his Lordship of Worcester took a still heavier burden on himself, by

scoffing at his Archbishop. Let the Bishops rail. God knows who are His, and will declare it in that day.

“But in the midst of these snares, what is the right course for your friend, and for your sake mine, the Bishop of Exeter? If you or your friends can devise anything, do; if not, I suggest this. If they come to be absolved, let him look to the wording of the Instructions, require penance, extort confession, and if the form of the Instructions permit, insist on due security. Let him deal out Admonitions, and expound diligently the perils they incur. If a difficulty is raised on their part, he is out of the scrape. If they refuse penance, and still demand absolution, he may answer with the greatest charity and modesty, that this is against the doctrine both of the Gospel and the Church, and that no Bishop could venture on it without higher authority; so that it might be referred to the decision of the Cardinals; their Lordships will never so commit themselves, as to assert abstractedly that the impenitent may be absolved. On the other hand, if they do penance and promise amendment, even though the Instructions should not warrant him in extorting security, I think they may be absolved, and the King and Cardinals appeased; for that it may be assumed that this was taken when the Instructions were drawn out. And yet I am sure this will displease the Archbishop, inasmuch as the Instructions were given without commission, out of sheer presumption and wantonness, to Bishops over whom they had no authority whatever. And what is more, it will displease him justly. But in consideration of my services, and those of your other friends, I doubt not he will be placable. If I had seen the wording of the Instructions, I could have advised more definitely. So, if the letters have been delivered, pray send them me without delay. Also bear in mind that, in the letters which John of Oxford

brought, his Lordship the Pope ordered that if the excommunicates were in peril of death, they should be absolved on making oath that, on their recovery they should obey the Instructions Apostolic. Also in the letter which bids the Cardinals replace them under their sentence, unless they make satisfaction immediately, the same oath is insisted on as a condition. I send you a copy of the last letters, that their contents may be made known, and so give a support to some who need it.

“ However if he unties this knot, I fear he will soon have a harder to encounter. The Chief Priests have taken counsel how they may slay the Lord’s Christ and extinguish his Church ; and I fear that, with the assistance of the King’s officers, they may attempt to induce or to compel your friend to join the Appeal which they have concerted with the King and Cardinals in the name of the Nation and Priesthood, and to support their cause with his testimony in their favour. Perhaps too they will direct him on the King’s authority, as he bears true allegiance to his Majesty and honours the Priesthood, to undertake the cause himself, with other envoys, and prosecute it in his own person. If he does any one of these, he will, as I undoubtedly believe, offend God, and that he will offend the Archbishop, I well know, and that perhaps irreparably ; for he was his adversary with the others in the Appeal at Northampton, and in the second Appeal likewise ; and these things are counted as though they were not : but if now a third time without provocation he takes to himself the wickedness of the others, he will show that like them he thirsts for the blood of his Father, and will inflict a wound on his own conscience deeper than on the cause of the Church, or on him whose ruin is intended. He must do all this, or else his past services will do little to prevent his being denounced a public enemy of the King and Priest-

hood; and though he does all these things I fear it will come to the same in the end; for whatever be the occasion on which he first hesitates, it will cancel every thing; and hesitate sooner or later he certainly must. About all this my advice is, that he should try to keep on terms as long as he can; but that when it comes to the point, and he has no choice but to offend or to sin, he should take his course firmly. When they require him to confirm their Acts or subscribe, I think he may ask for a respite, till he has consulted his Church, and the Holy men in his Diocese; for it does not seem over prudent in one, that has suffered no grievance, to mix himself in other people's quarrels; or in one that has not been present himself, or heard anything but an ex-parte statement, to offer himself as a witness. The same excuse will do for others that keep clear of the Appeal; if indeed there are yet any in the Kingdom that know the Truth and dare profess it. His Lordship of London is in fear for himself, and seeks companions as a shelter. If they still press, the matter may be referred to the Cardinals. But he may consent to write in the King's behalf, so far forth as his cause may be considered just; and to request the Pope to attend to his Majesty's honour, as the Holy Spirit may direct. To take a part in the prosecution is certainly not expedient; but he who does so by force will of course rejoice in delays, under pretence of collecting necessities, and of arranging his concerns. What is raised for this purpose, may be spent for one with which God will be better pleased. Before undertaking an Embassy, a protest must be entered against all the faulty points in the cause;—this is the very least that will save conscience whole, and get rid of responsibility. Perhaps some new oath will be enacted, as a security for exact compliance with Instructions. I cannot see how this can be taken without baseness. Upon the whole,

I can think of nothing better than delay, if that can be obtained: for in the interval, by God's grace, either peace may be arranged, or some new counsel of the Pope and Cardinals may give the whole matter an altered turn. Would that the reality may prove less calamitous than what we fear!

"If Chichester and Worcester are as active as I think they have the power to be, in shielding your good Exeter, I shall pay less attention to reports. Otherwise they must be presumed to have taken part against their Brother in a plot which they have not chosen to hinder.

"Of this however he may be sure, that the Archbishop has not rectified the absolutions of the Cardinals, and that he has notified this to them; though in deference to the Apostolic See he does not charge them publicly—especially as they have promised to correct what it is known they did under a delusion.

"The Cardinals have entreated the Archbishop not to denounce London or the others as excommunicate, while there is hope of peace, and he has consented."

The King's and the Archbishop's envoys in the mean time were carrying on a contest at the Papal Court, some particulars of which are given in the following letter, together with other news relating to the Emperor's affairs in Italy, and the disputes between Henry and the King of France.

JOHN OF SALISBURY, TO THE BISHOP OF EXETER¹.

"My beloved friend,

"Ever since the middle of Lent, when by God's

¹ Ep. ii. 66.

goodness I returned in health from St. Gilles¹, I have been intending to send you an account of what has been going on in France and Italy. For I know how agreeable, and indeed how useful it is, to watch the course of the times, and to snatch as it were a glimpse of the future through the past; contemplating the order of God's counsels in those events, where human wisdom has been overruled. But as a peace between our Kings has been under consideration, and as Frederic, broken in his career of obstinate schism, has been pretending a wish to return to the Catholic unity, I have put off writing till it was clear what turn things would take.

“ When the German Tyrant found that he was stripped of his forces, and that the States of Italy were rising to overwhelm him; and moreover that, through the rashness of his party, who had put out the eyes of a certain noble of Pavia, he was no longer safe in that city; and when the Earl of Maurienne pressed him so hard that it seemed impossible he should escape the hands of the Lombards; relying on the support of the Earl of Blandrati and of the Marquis of Montferrat, he made his way into the territory of the Marquis, leaving thirty of his Lombard hostages at Blandrati². The other hostages he disposed of in different castles of the Marquis, and then finding that the Lombards had collected an army, and were pursuing him with twenty thousand men, bent on preventing his escape, he fled in company with the Earl and Marquis from castle to castle, hiding himself as if in the shadow of death, so hastily, that I hear on good authority he scarcely dared to remain under the same roof two days together.

“ These afflictions of the Tyrant, or rather this triumph

¹ [St. Giles, a town of Languedoc.]

² [Formerly a town, now a village of the Novarese, in the Dukedom of Milan.]

of God and consolation of the Church, was witnessed by your Countrymen the Canons of Noyon, and by the envoys of Earl Henry, and besides by the ambassadors of the illustrious King of the English, who for one object or another were all there. The Canons of Noyon were soliciting the return of their Archdeacon Boniface, an Italian Marquis, whom they had elected Bishop, an honourable man, who had remained a Catholic through the whole tempest Schism. Earl Henry was watching the state of the Emperor's affairs; and the ambassadors of the King of England had come to ratify a marriage contract between the son of the aforesaid Marquis, and a sister of the King of Scotland. They were also, it is believed, engaged in an intrigue with the aforesaid Tyrant, in hopes of alarming the French by affecting intimacy with the Empire. In this however they sadly failed; for the French are in high spirits at the destitute state of their enemy, who now rather needs patronage himself, than is capable of affording it to others.

“ While the Emperor was in these difficulties, and altogether despaired of escaping, he entered into an engagement with some holy men, of known fidelity to our Lord the Pope; pretending a wish to make peace with the Church of God. In the Monastery of Chartreux there is a holy man, once very familiar with the Emperor, who, though he had long ago withdrawn from him on account of his Schism, still continued to feel an affectionate interest for him. This man waited on him now with tears in his eyes, to warn him that he certainly would have no peace, unless he restored peace to the Church; and prevailed on him to send letters inviting the Prior of Chartreux, the Abbot of Citeaux, and the Bishop of Pavia, whom he had expelled, with a promise to abide by their counsel in all things; if only they would take on themselves to release

him from the oath he had taken against Pope Alexander. All who heard this rejoiced, and the Lombards began to act with less severity, in the hope that the man was converted. But in the mean time, the above-mentioned Marquis prevailed with his relative the Earl of Maurienne to allow the Emperor free egress, promising him not only restitution of the plunder, but piles of gold besides, with all the honours and favours the Empire could bestow on him. And now the holy men who had been invited, were on their way to attend the summons; all except the Abbot of Citeaux, who was detained by sickness, but sent in his stead his Lordship Geoffrey of Auxerre, the late Abbot of Clairvaux. They had sent on a Brother, to learn from the Tyrant where and when he wished to hold his conference with them. But he on hearing of their arrival, having now made terms for himself, and being sure that escape was open to him, made answer, ‘that their presence in this business was to no purpose, unless they brought with them visibly an Angel from Heaven, or came with the power of working miracles, so as to cleanse lepers and bring the dead to life;’ and this was the answer with which they returned.

“I learned these particulars from the lay Brother of Chartreux, who had carried the invitation.

“The Emperor now collected his dispersed hostages, and made his way in all haste to St. Ambrose, with about thirty soldiers in his train. The next morning early he continued his route, and on the way hung one of his hostages, a Noble of Brecia, on an eminence near Saluzzo¹; alleging that he had been a party to the conspiracy of the Italians, and had instigated the collection of the army which expelled him from Italy. The other hostages he brought with him into Saluzzo, but the citizens and inhab-

¹ [A town of Piedmont, on the Po.]

itants of the place caused the gates to be shut, stationing guards over them, and took from the Tyrant all his hostages, ‘because,’ as they said, ‘the other States would exterminate them if they allowed their neighbours and Noble friends to be carried off and slain in Germany; particularly as he had just hung a person of rank and influence; but that he and his might proceed at their pleasure.’ So careful were they to retain the hostages, that they would allow no one who could speak Italian, to leave the town. On this the Emperor put on the dress of a slave, and set out by night with five others in the same disguise, glad to escape with the loss of Italy, to which he had forfeited his claim. From thence he made his way to Besançon, and troubled his own part of Burgundy, addressing menaces to the Nobles; thence passing on to Germany and Saxony, he found them troubled above measure, and his Brother heading the faction opposite to his, though many still remained on his side.

“After this the Lombards destroyed Blandrati, liberated all the hostages, and killed almost all the Germans who had been left to garrison the castle; but the ten noblest and richest they gave up to the wife of the Noble of Brescia, as a consolation for the loss of her husband; that she might either hang them, or make slaves of them, or accept a ransom, as she pleased. After this they are said to have put the Marquis in great peril, and the report now is that they are besieging Pavia. Certain it is, the Pavians have already given the Emperor notice, that unless he returns to help them, they can no longer hold out against the powers of the States.

“The Heresiarch of Crema¹ is in Rome at St. Peter’s,

¹ [Paschal, the Antipope. Dupin thus briefly gives the history of this struggle from the first. “Afterwards (after the Council of Wittemburg, p. 153) Frederic appeared at the head

where he is allowed to remain, till terms are arranged for the exchange of prisoners. It is said he will not be allowed to leave it. The Bishop of Albano is the Pope's vicegerent in the city. If the Lombards take Pavia, we have some hope that Guido of Crema will be made prisoner, and that not only the Romans but all Tuscany will rise against the Schismatics. It is as yet uncertain, whether his Lordship the Pope will listen to the prayers of the Lombards, and transfer his abode to them; now however he is safe at Beneventum, where the envoys of the King of England and of his Lordship of Canterbury have assembled in his presence.

“ Both parties were courteously received; but the King's envoys, as their cause was worse, so their pomp and ostentation was greater; and when they found that they could not move his Lordship the Pope by flattery or promises, they had recourse to threats; intimating that the King would follow the errors of Noureddin, and enter into communion with a profane religion, sooner than allow Thomas

of an army, and passed into Italy to put Paschal (the Antipope) in possession of the Papal See. He entered Lombardy, besieged Ancona, and the next year encamped near Rome: then he defeated the Romans in battle, took part of the city, seized on St. Peter's Church, and would have made himself master of the whole city, if a distemper that raged in his army had not obliged him speedily to retire to Lombardy. Alexander, being thus delivered from so imminent a danger, had recourse to his thundering Bulls, and pronounced a sentence of deposition against Frederic, in a Council held at Lateran, A. D. 1168. The Italians animated by that sentence, revolted against the Emperor, submitted to Alexander, and expelled the Schismatical Bishops. Frederic, having attacked the Milanese troops, lost 20,000 men, and was forced to shut himself up in Pavia, but not believing himself safe there, in regard that the whole country of Lombardy had declared against him, he at last found means to escape into Germany. In the meanwhile Paschal still continued in possession of St. Peter's Church, and Alexander resided at Benevento.” Dupin, vol. x. p. 118.]

to act any longer as Bishop in the Church of Canterbury. But the man of God could not be shaken by terror, any more than seduced by flattery ; he set before them the alternative of life and death, and said that, though he could not prevent their choosing the way of those that perish, despising the grace and patience of God, yet by the grace of God he would not recede from the right way. Their spirit then quickly subsided, and, as they perceived that they could not make any progress this way against justice, they sent envoys to the King of Sicily with the King's letters, which they had brought as their credentials ; in the hope that the King and Queen of Sicily might aid them in obtaining something from his Lordship the Pope to the prejudice of the Church. But his most Christian Majesty the King of the French, presaging this wicked policy, had written to the Archbishop elect of Palermo, identifying himself with the cause of the Church and of the Archbishop of Canterbury. What has been the success of either party is as yet unknown. In the mean time messengers arrived from the Legates, whom the King of England had procured from the Pope, but did not at all agree in their accounts ; for whatever one said in the Pope's Court the other unsaid. But there is nothing certain known about these either, as to the answers they will bring back to their respective masters. Supplication was made to the Pope, on the part of the King and the Legates, backed with other interest, in behalf of the Bishop of Salisbury¹, and at length it was conceded, that the Chief Priest

¹ [The Bishop of Salisbury had been in a state of suspension, for the appointment of John of Oxford to the Deanery, from 1166 up to the late conferences, when, among other acts that have been mentioned, his sentence was revoked by the Legates. It would seem that this proceeding was not regarded as authoritative even by his own side, and that fresh application was here made to the Pope for his restoration, as if nothing had been done.]

would pardon him his offence, and write to his Lordship of Canterbury, requesting and counselling him to take off the sentence of suspension, and to receive him back into his favour and affection, on condition that he gives security in his own person, and sends two of his principal Clerics, the Dean being excepted, to make oath that the Bishop has ordered them, and not afterwards revoked the order, to swear in his name and stead that he will make satisfaction to the Archbishop for his contumacy and misconduct. From hence it may be surmised, that the Pope was either ignorant of the sentence of the Legates, by which they absolved the aforesaid Bishop; or that he did not think fit to ratify it. The same Bishop had before obtained letters nearly to the same effect, which however did not impose on him the oath; but these he did not think fit to use, either because they were displeasing to the King, or else that they were not considered sufficient. What award each party would bring back was unknown¹, when the bearer of the aforesaid letters returned; but his Lordship the Pope has written to his most Christian Majesty, that he will not fail the Church of God, and that he will uphold his Lordship of Canterbury wherever he can do so with justice.

“ I now pass on to the different conferences of our Kings.

“ The illustrious persons, Henry, Earl of Champagne, and Philip, Earl of Flanders, pleaded in behalf of the King of England, before his most Christian Majesty at Soissons; and, at the earnest entreaties of the aforesaid King of England, peace was at length agreed on in the following form; viz. ‘ that the King of England should return to the vassallage of the King of France; and that he should publicly and in person pledge himself, and in the presence of all declare, that he would obey the King of France as his

¹ [i. e. as to the main object of the Embassy. The Bishop of Salisbury’s case was settled.]

Lord, for the Duchy of Normandy, in the same manner as his predecessors had been used to obey the French Kings; that he should make over the Earldoms of Anjou and Maine, and the fealty of the Nobles attached to them to Prince Henry his son, who was then to do homage and fealty to the King of France against all mortals, cancelling thereby all claims of his father and brothers except such as are imperative by the law of nature.' On the same terms the King of France conceded the Duchy of Aquitaine to Prince Richard, and offered him his daughter in marriage, though without a dowry; she was however to receive a gift on her marriage according to her parents' discretion. No mention has yet been made of Toulouse¹. The prisoners on each side were to be liberated, and on these terms peace and concord was to be consolidated.

"But when the King of England had attained his object, on hearing that Earl Henry was coming to confirm the treaty, he forbade him to proceed, and set out himself for Poitou², to take from the Nobles the Castle of Lu-

¹ [The dispute respecting the possession of Toulouse had rested since the conclusion of the war in 1159.]

² [Which was in a state of revolt at present. Henry had great difficulty in keeping his Norman territories under control. In 1166 a rebellious display of the same kind had to be put down. "King Henry remaining now in Normandy, and understanding that diverse Lords and Barons of Maine, and the marshes of Britaine, would not in his absence show themselves obedient unto his wife Queen Eleanor, but were about to practise a rebellion, raised an army, and went against them, easily subduing them whom he found obstinate; and besieging the castle of Foulgiers, took and utterly destroyed it." Hollingshead, vol. iii. p. 74. This is alluded to in a former letter, p. 198. Henry's right to this part of his territory—Brittany, where Fougères was, was of the most questionable sort. In 1158 he and Conan, Duke of Brittany, engaged in a war respecting the possession of Nantz. "Lest Lewis, the French King, should interpose in the controversy, Henry paid him a visit; and so

signan, which they had agreed to rebuild and fortify; intrusting the conclusion of his arrangements with the French to the Archbishop of Rouen, Richard de Hamet, and Richard de Luci as his deputies, whose oaths, whenever they happen to be inconsistent with their Lord's will, our friends the French do not value one farthing. On this the French King, thinking himself trifled with by the other party, set out in anger for Bourges, and there received oaths and hostages from the Nobles of Poitou, pledging them to make no peace with the King of England without his advice and permission, in return for which he promised that neither would he make peace, unless peace was secured to them at the same time, and all the plunder restored to them. To this he pledged himself by the oaths of his brother Peter, and of Earl Stephen, and of William, a Knight of Chartres¹.

allured him by caresses and civilities, that an alliance was contracted between the monarchs; and they agreed that young Henry, heir of the English monarchy, should be affianced to Margaret of France; though the former was only five years of age, and the latter was still in her cradle. Henry, now secure of meeting with no interruption on this side, advanced with his army into Brittany; and Conan, in despair of being able to make resistance, delivered up the county of Nantz to the King. The ability of that monarch procured him farther and more important advantages from this incident. Conan, harassed with the turbulent disposition of his subjects, was desirous of procuring to himself the support of so great a monarch; and he betrothed his daughter and only child, yet an infant, to Geoffrey, the King's third son, who was of the same tender years. The Duke of Brittany died about seven years after; and Henry, on pretence of being guardian to his son and daughter-in-law, put himself in possession of that principality, and annexed it to his other great dominions." Hume, Henry II., 1st Ed.]

¹ [The King of France was the Feudal Sovereign of Henry's Norman territories; a circumstance which makes a difference

“ And now a second time, with more earnestness than before, the King of England applied, through the aforesaid Earls of Champagne and Flanders, for a conference with the other King, and a renewal of peace in the manner before agreed on. Accordingly, on the Sunday after Easter, he obtained a conference with the French Nobles; but the King he was not to see, unless he would pledge himself to restore peace to the Poitains who had sided with the French, and would restore all the plunder he had carried off, whole and entire; except that he was not called on to raise the slain, nor to rebuild the burnt dwellings. To all this he consented, and gave his personal pledge; adding likewise that he would faithfully abide by all the other articles agreed on at Soissons. The Nobles of France in return pledged themselves that the King would fulfil his part of the engagement; except only that he no longer consented to give his daughter in marriage to Prince Richard, the destined Duke of Aquitain. About Toulouse it was stipulated that, if Prince Richard demands justice from the Earl of St. Gilles, the King is to hear the cause in his own Court.

“ When these things were reported to the King of France, he consented to hold a conference with the King of England on the Sunday after Ascension-day, and to make peace on the aforesaid conditions. But after this the Poitains complained to him that now, while the terms

between *his* connexion with the Poitains, and the same interference on the part of any other Monarch. “ Littleton gives a form of homage, with the reservation of allegiance due to the Sovereign; and the same prevailed in Normandy and some other countries. A law of Frederic Barbarossa enjoins, that in every oath of fealty to an inferior lord, the vassal's duty to the Emperor should be expressly reserved.” Hallam's Middle Ages, vol. i. p. 124. Mr. Hallam adds indeed that this was not the view acted on during the height of the feudal system.]

of peace were under discussion, the King of England had sent an army to assail them; however, that they had destroyed the army, and killed its leader Earl Patrick¹, though very much against their wish. On receiving this news, the King of France was greatly incensed. I do not know that it will break off the peace, though he is sorry he has consented to do it.

“What induced him to consent in the first instance was, the belief that the King of England had conceived a pious undertaking. For when the same King, in order to obtain peace, was engaged in canvassing the French Nobility, having heard that the Archbishop elect of Sens was much trusted by his most Christian Majesty, because he was thought to surpass the other Nobles in the fear of the Lord and in the Word of Wisdom, he went to him, and entreated with much earnestness, ‘that he would reconcile him to his Lord, with whom and for whom he was willing to go into Egypt.’ But the Archbishop elect, being a prudent man, and wishing to look deeper into his intentions, asked, ‘am I really to understand that you are ready to accompany his Majesty to Jerusalem?’ He answered, ‘There is nothing that I would do more willingly, if it so pleased my Lord, if only he would allow me first to arrange my affairs, and to make provision for my children.’ This conversation the Bishop, though suspecting it to be insincere, related to the King of France, who replied, ‘that it was disgraceful to be so often deceived, and that he would never believe the King of England meant what he said till he saw the badge of the cross on his shoulder; for that, as he had made this promise before and confirmed it by oath, and yet had evaded this sacred obligation, it was foolish

¹ [“About the feast of Easter, Patrike, the Earl of Salisburie, was slain by treason of the Poictouins, and was buried at Saint Hilaries.” Hollingshed, vol. iii. p. 75.]

now to believe him on his bare word. And yet on this account he was more disposed to come to terms. But when he heard that, while the King of England was making these promises, he was at the same time attacking the Poitains, he was so disquieted that he sent messengers to him refusing a conference, unless he would give the Poitains his safe conduct, and would give hostages that neither on their way, nor stay, nor yet return, he or his friends would do them any injury. It is certain that if he can recede with honour from the conditions, he will gladly avail himself of the opportunity. There are some too who think that the King of England can never submit to the indignity of granting an amnesty, and giving up their castles and all the plunder to men who have killed his Nobles, and resisted his will and interest so contumaciously. For his temper, naturally impatient, is not wont to rest quiet under injury. Others however think him politic enough to perceive the difficulties he is placed in, and to have recourse to his old artifice;—dissemble for the present, and satiate his vengeance when the opportunity offers. But whatever the Kings do, it is not thought that the Poitains will enter on any treaty with him; because they despair of finding faith in one who has injured them unprovoked and against his oath.

“ However it is useless to relate men’s different opinions, when the event will so soon prove which is true. As soon as anything is known, I will send you word, God willing, by the first opportunity, both with regard to the arrangements of the Kings and the state of our Lord the Pope, entering minutely into all that concerns the English Church, and whatever else is worth relating. Do write back to me in return, about the state of yourself and your friends.

“May you and your Holy Brethren make constant remembrance of me and mine before the Lord.”

The following letter is of a more private character, having been written on the occasion of a misunderstanding between the Archbishop and Gerard Pucelle, which seems to have had no other foundation than certain groundless suspicions of the latter. Gerard was a friend both of the Archbishop and John of Salisbury, and had in a good measure sided with them in the present contest. His residence however among the Schismatics in Germany, and too liberal intercourse with them, had brought upon him the Pope's displeasure, and he had been denounced as Schismatical; though he urged afterwards that he had received the Pope's license for behaving as he had done¹. Latterly too he had fallen into disgrace with his friend and patron, Louis, and been forbidden showing himself within the French dominions.

JOHN OF SALISBURY, TO M. GERARD².

SOON AFTER MAY 21.

“I am grieved, my dearest M. Gerard, greatly grieved to see you irritated against his Lordship of Canterbury, and if I may speak my mind, so unjustly irritated; for I do not think he has deserved it at your hands.

¹ [The Pope denied having granted this license—“quam (licentiam) se Girardus dicebat a sede Apostolica impetrasse. Sed Dominus Papa se hanc dedisse constanter inficiatus est.” Ep. i. 174.]

² Ep. i. 173.

“As the Lord liveth, I have no design in saying this, but to prevent a groundless suspicion from alienating two friends. You know who it is that said, ‘He that loveth not his brother abideth in death.’

“As to the report that some, I know not who, among his retinue have spoken disparagingly of you before his most Christian Majesty and the Court of France, of one thing at least you may rest assured, that I have often heard himself defending your conduct both to the King and others, and interceding in your behalf; so I cannot believe that with his knowledge any of his followers have spoken ill of you.....Some of his co-exiles certainly there are at the King’s Court, less cautious than himself, who may sometimes speak at random either against you or another, to ingratiate themselves with their hearers. But I call God to witness, that I neither have myself known, nor even heard a report of any one’s having said what you complain of—nor can I form a guess who it is, if indeed it is any body.

“However I have no manner of doubt that the King is highly displeased at you; and that for the three following reasons. 1. Because, after having received much kindness and attention from him, you left his kingdom in which your name had become famous, and in which so many blessings had been conferred on you from infancy, without even taking a formal leave of him, and that too, though your way lay through the place where he was staying¹.

¹ [Gerard is one instance out of many which show the extraordinary importance that attached to literary men in the middle ages. The case of Peter de Blois, who flourished just at this time, and was a friend of John of Salisbury, (some of the latter’s letters in the present collection are addressed to him) is still more remarkable. Before his residence in Sicily in the capacity of tutor to the King’s son, he was only known as an eloquent teacher of

2. Because you, who through your reputation for virtue and learning ought to have been a support to the weaker brethren, have yourself set an example of misconduct by joining the Schismatics, (not that I would say you are yourself a Schismatic.) For men feel less scruple when they see you remaining long in a place where you are under the unavoidable necessity of communicating in prayer, at meals, at the interchange of the kiss, and in everything else which constitutes communion. And what in the King's judgment makes all this worse, it is said that you attached yourself to that very Schismatic who was the instigator of the whole Schism, its contriver and its standard-bearer, and who was excommunicated by name by the Apostolic See¹. 3. But what, in my judgment at least, weighs heaviest against you with him, is the circumstance that you are living among the Germans, who, if they could and if they dared, would, he is convinced, rise in arms against him and his Kingdom. What they can and what they dare they already do, viz. they speak great swelling words; and those of them who live in France, and even in Paris, are accustomed, as you know,

jurisprudence, (on which subject he had delivered some courses of lectures in Bologna); and more recently as a theologian. He had not been in Sicily however more than a year, before he was promoted by the King to the office of Privy Seal, and became almost Prime Minister. Thus he writes to his nephew;—"Tu frequenter ex ipsius Papæ, qui nunc sedet, ac plerisque Cardinalibus ejus, qui in diebus meis legatione functi sunt, fratrīs etiam mei et Abbatis S. Dionysii, aliorumque magnatum, qui in terra sunt, relatione cognoscere potuisti, quod, cum in Sicilia essem sigillarius, et doctor Regis Guilhelmi secundi tunc pueri, atque post Reginam et Panormitanum electum, dispositio regni satis ad meum penderet arbitrium." (l. 131) He resided afterwards 26 years in the English Court, where he was an equal favourite. (l. 41.)]

¹ [Reginald of Cologne.—The letter of Gerard's, p. 216, shows a considerable connexion between them.]

to speak disrespectfully of him, because he lives like a citizen among his subjects, and does not array himself like a barbarian Tyrant, nor require the attendance of armed guards wherever he goes, as one who thought his life in danger. These German practices he knows, and must I think have complained of them to you among others. Yet in spite of this, his Lordship of Canterbury has requested of him in my presence, and at last has prevailed on him, to waive his own objections to your recall.

“As to your complaint, that he has sent his Lordship the Pope copies of your letters, I do not deny that they were sent, and that I approved of it; but that it was with no ill intention to you, the Inspector of hearts knoweth; his impression was, that they would be serviceable to his own cause, and might at the same time tend to set your character right with his Lordship the Pope; showing as they did, that, though for a time and with a dispensation, you had taken up your abode with the Schismatics, yet that you were intent on bringing them back to Catholic Unity, and that your faith and zeal for the Apostolic See were unshaken. If some of the envoys have shown themselves lukewarm in your cause, the fault certainly was not in their instructions. Nor can I doubt that his Lordship the Pope must be satisfied in this matter, else he would never think of recalling you¹ or any one, not even the

¹ [His recall had been granted;—“Tandem vero redierunt Nuncii nostri ab Apostolica sede, qui nobis revocandi licentiam attulerunt, et formam juramenti præscriptam, quo præstito præcipitur absolvi.” Ep. i. 175 is the Pope’s letter to this effect to the Archbishop. The Pope at the same time wrote to the King of France to allow him to return to that country. Ep. i. 177. The oath referred to is as follows;—“Ego Girardus refuto et anathematizo omnem hæresim extollentem se adversus Sanctam Ecclesiam Catholicam, et præcipue schisma et hæresim Octavianiani et Guidonis Cremensis. Ordinationes quoque eorum irritas esse pronuncio, et modo in antea obediens et fidelis ero

greatest Patriarch, in such circumstances. But let him return that will; only let him return as he ought. If your pupil and my relation, M. Richard, had not died on his way back, we should have known more about it.

“With regard to the strange information you say he has given to the Pope, concerning the state of the Empire, as having received it from you, I reply, he gave what he received, but it was not from you; what you told him he said nothing of; the state of the Empire is better known to him through other channels. And what wonder, if such a mass cannot be concealed?

Since the death of M. Richard, when those letters were intercepted, he was talking on this subject to the Cardinals, and they dissuaded him from presuming to recall you without the Pope’s approbation; referring him to the conduct of his Lordship of Rheims and all his Suffragans, who, when convoked on purpose, did not dare to admit the Bishop of Cambray to communion, till they had consulted the Pope; though he expressed his penitence with tears. It was said in answer, that your case was very different from his; for that he had consented to the Schism, whereas you had kept clear of it though living among Schismatics; that he was a Bishop and had disunited Catholics, that you were a private person, and were endeavouring to bring back Schismatics to unity. His Lordship of Canterbury after this sent again to the Church of Rome, instructing his envoys in my presence to exert themselves on your behalf, and procure your recall from the the Pope¹. I my-

Domino Papæ Alexandro, ejusque successoribus Catholicis.”
Ep. i. 176.]

¹ [Ep. i. 174. Archbishop to the Prior (de Valle); “Novit ille cui de operibus et verbis, et ipsius animæ motibus reddituri sumus in districto examine rationem, quoties per literas et nuncios institerimus summo Pontifici, ut nobis eum revocandi licentiam daret, excusantes recessum ejus.”]

self, with Radulphus Niger, composed the letters, and have requested him to send you an account of the whole matter seriatim.

“ It is certain that our envoys have arrived at the Court, and have had a long controversy there with the ambassadors of the King of England ; but out of all the seven not one had returned on the Sunday after Ascension-day¹. The event of the controversy I cannot tell you ; nothing is known of it, except that all who return from the Apostolic See tell me, our envoys had the advantage of the King’s, but how far no one knows ; perhaps they may return with our petitions granted, perhaps the sum of their success consists in having thwarted the King’s.

“ I saw your messenger lately at the colloquy the Kings held near Mantes², where the terms of peace were discussed among the English. Many spoke in your favour, but what they obtained for you I could not learn. Another of your people I saw at Paris. His Lordship, G., who is now shut up at St. Hilaire, can tell you how I have written to his Lordship of Canterbury for your recall ; he saw the letter : I shall be much gratified if it comes to your

¹ [i. e. the day of the conference at Mantes, where John of Salisbury would have heard the last news.]

² [The conference about which Louis was undetermined at the end of the last letter, whether to consent to hold it or not. It was held on May 21, (the Sunday after Ascension-day.) Hollingshed thus mentions it. “ Also he (the King of England) came to an interview with the King of France betwixt Pacie and Maunt, where they communed of such injuries as were thought to be attempted on either part. For the Poitouins had made their resort to the French King, and were confederate with him against their supreme lord King Henry, and had delivered pledges for assurance thereof, which pledges the French King would not restore. But yet there was a truce concluded betwixt them, to endure till the feast of St. John Baptist.” vol. iii. p. 75. Mantes is a town in the Isle of France, twelve miles from the Norman boundary.]

knowledge. As soon as ever our envoys return, which God willing, it is expected they soon will do, I will send you word of our affairs and your own. In the mean time you must not, if you please, be irreverently angry; nor ought you to be in such exceeding haste about your departure. It is not for you and me to prescribe times to divine mercy. Rather, as the Priests were taught by the widow Judith, ought all of us, the poor and proscribed of Christ, to possess our souls in patience; waiting in prayer and silence for the salvation of the Lord. So perhaps the day of grace may come when we little think of it; the head of Holophernes may be cut off; and the sons of Israel may rest in the peace they have so long looked for in vain.

“Not that I would dissuade you, if you are bent upon it, from making your peace with the King of England on the terms which you say are offered you, *almost of your own proposing*; yet hope that the form determined on may be such as, while it agrees with your interests, shall neither prejudice your reputation, nor your soul's good. Most of us, you must know, have had terms of peace offered us; but from all an oath has been enacted, which, in my judgment at least, can never be kept except at the expense of Religion. For how can Faith be preserved unsullied, when subjects are not permitted to obey their Shepherds and Rulers, in the things that pertain to God? But although the oath does not in words require disobedience, who can doubt what is the intention of him who imposes it? Of one thing I am sure, that no one will retain the King's favour, who in this stormy time shall preserve his obedience to the Archbishop of Canterbury, or shall even venture to hold friendly intercourse with him. You, my beloved brother, are one of his sheep, and, if I mistake not, he is the first, or at any rate among the first,

who has been your shepherd. Be careful then how you walk, and allow no perturbation of mind, a thing most unbecoming in a philosopher, to urge you into an action which you may afterwards be sorry for. Rather have recourse to the arms of prayer and almsgiving, that you, with the rest of the just, may be preserved in the straight paths, by that God who causeth all things to work together for good to them that love Him. He whose name is a strong tower will assuredly deliver you; and your way, under such a guide, must end joyously.

“The treaty of peace is still under discussion, and people still think it will come to something. Meanwhile the whole world is silent. So I have nothing new to tell you, except that the Earl of Leicester has slept in the Lord, and that Earl Patrick has been slain by the rebel Poitains. His Lordship of Chartres has been elected Archbishop of Sens. Farewell.”

CHAPTER XIV.

THE SUSPENSION OF THE ARCHBISHOP.

THE events of the last chapter have carried us on to about the middle of the summer of 1168; at which time the two sides appear to be pretty much in the same state with respect to their relative strength and chance of success, that they were in at the commencement of the contest. The unfriendly influence and partial acts of the Legates had been met with a promptness and vigilance by the Archbishop, which certainly left him the superior, so far as their designs were concerned. Indeed the Legatine commission might be said to have turned out a failure, in spite of the strong expectations which it had excited at first in the opposite party, and the eagerness with which its appointment had been sought. On its first appearance even, its powers, at Becket's request, had been curtailed in such a way, as to make it depend entirely upon himself, whether the arbitration of the Legates was to be *authoritative*, or no. And

this advantage being gained in the first instance, nothing remained for him to do afterwards, but to retain it, and not allow himself to be carried away by the persuasions of the Legates, when they came to argue with him. The Pope again, though afraid to commit himself openly or strongly on the Archbishop's side, was evidently inclined to favour him, as far as his negative conduct went; and refused to listen to Henry's demands, whenever they touched upon positively objectionable or dangerous ground. Indeed Henry himself, as we shall hear afterwards, was in considerable apprehension at this time, expecting that the Archbishop was about to lay him under an Interdict; and, in consequence of this suspicion, had gone so far as to propose a conference, with a view to making peace. Matters were in this state when the King's envoys unexpectedly returned from Rome, with letters from the Pope, signifying that the Archbishop had been suspended, that is, forbidden all exercise of his spiritual powers, till such time as it should please the King to be reconciled to him. Henry received the indulgence exactly at a time when it was most certain to inflate him; i. e. toward the end of his conferences with the French King, which he continued to manage with his accustomed policy, evading all approach to the settlement of the matters at issue. The disputes between the two Monarchs have been already given up to a certain point, in a preceding letter of John of Salisbury. Of this the following is a continuation.

JOHN OF SALISBURY, TO M. LOMBARD¹.

“ Mindful of our mutual engagement, I send you as concise an account as I can of the late conference between the two Kings², and its results to his Lordship of Canterbury; whom, as you know, the Earl of Flanders prevailed on to attend, at the command of the King of England.

“ When the King’s envoys were arrived at the place destined for the conference, Eudes, Earl of Bretagne, and Roland de Dinan, brought many grievous charges against the King of England, in the presence of his most Christian Majesty. Eudes, in particular, complained bitterly that the King had gotten with child his virgin daughter, who was with him as a hostage, and thus been guilty at once of perfidy, adultery, and incest; for the King and the wife of Eudes were cousins.

“ The men of Poitou, and Angoulême, the Earl of La Marche, the Warder of Thouars, Robert de Silli, Geoffrey de Lusignan, Hermeric de Rancon, and the Abbot of Charroux, demanded reparation for the losses they had sustained from the King of England and his party since the truce; for the Abbot declared that his monastery had belonged to the jurisdiction of the King of France from the time of Charlemagne, who founded it. After many disputes, the King of England promised to restore the Poitains whatever he had taken from them, but to the monastery he would not, because it was his own and the Pope’s. At last however he consented, not as recognizing the claim of the King of France, but for the love of God, and for the sake of the Earl of Flanders, and my Lord Cardinal William. But when the King of France heard

¹ Ep. ii. 32.

² [Held at Fort Bernard, after the one mentioned in the last letter.]

that the Cardinal was among the counsellors of the King of England, he was greatly moved, and said he had not deserved from the Church of Rome, that the Cardinal, as he had always hitherto done, should assist his enemies; and that he would accept nothing from the King of England, for the love of the Earl and the Cardinal, but only as his own right. When the King of England refused this, the King of France called on him, by the oath he had sworn, to come to the river where the conference was to be held, according to compact, and within two leagues of which he had been for two days; but he would not acquiesce.

“On this the King of France, after waiting almost till evening, crossed the river, and on the other side washed his hands and drank water, in the presence of all, protesting that he had fulfilled his part of the engagement. He then dismissed the Earl of Flanders and the other Nobles, but waited himself with a few followers till twilight, having sent messengers to the other King, summoning him to make satisfaction for his breach of faith. On receiving this message, the King of England detained the persons who brought it, and having put on his armour, hastened to the river, with a great retinue in their helmets and coats of mail, nor did he allow the messengers to precede him, and give notice of his approach. When the French saw him approaching they seized their arms, but night did not allow them to engage. Thus the King of England returned. He was followed by the Earls, Robert, brother of the King of France, and Stephen, brother of Earl Henry, whom he earnestly entreated to dissuade their King from driving him to an alliance with the enemies of France. In his words he assumed a very humble tone; but the following day he sent envoys to Chartres, with instructions either to obtain peace, or to summon the Earl

of Flanders, by the oath which he had sworn, to own himself a subject of the English Crown. The King of France however refused to make peace, till satisfaction was given to himself and his Realm, for the outrage that had been committed on him by an armed force, when it was almost dark, though indeed not one Frenchman had been driven from his post. He added too, that he was prepared to prove, either in La Marche or in the Court of the Earl of Flanders, that the King of England had released from their engagement, the Earl himself, and the others who had interceded on his part. On the other hand, the King of England answered by his envoys, that he would prove either in the Court of the Emperor, or of the Kings of Navarre or Arragon (to whom he means to marry his daughter) that he had stood by his oath, and that the Earl of Flanders, and the other intercessors of France had broken theirs. Meanwhile the envoys demanded a truce, but this was not granted; so each party returned to his own¹.

At this conference were present, the ambassadors of the Kings of Scotland and Wales, and the Bretons and Poitains, promising to assist the King of France, and offering him hostages, and under this engagement they returned; so also did the Nobles of Gascoigne.

“When the conference of the Kings was over, to make it evident how the King of England had triumphed over his Lordship the Pope, and over the Church of Rome, and to hold up his Lordship of Canterbury and his followers, as

¹ [The proceedings of this conference are thus briefly given in Hollingshed. “Moreover in this summer season the two Kings met again at Fort Bernard to treat of peace, but they departed without concluding any agreement at all. For there were many of the Poictouins and Britons, which took part with the King of France, and, having delivered unto him hostages, had a promise made them that the French King would not conclude an agreement without their consent.” vol. iii. p. 75.]

a scorn of men and an outcast of the people; he caused transcripts to be made of certain letters¹ from his Lordship

¹ Ep. iv. 3. The Pope to the King of England. "Your Excellency's envoys, our well-beloved sons, Clarendald, Abbot elect of St. Augustin's; Reginald, Archdeacon of Salisbury; Simon de la Chartre; and Henry of Northampton; and likewise your Sublime Majesty's letters transmitted to us through their hands, have been received by us with that benignity which was due to them; while we on our part, anxiously calling to mind that warmth of fervent affection which your Magnificence from the first day of our promotion has uniformly exhibited towards ourself and God's Church, on hearing from the aforesaid envoys on the part of your Highness a discreet and careful intimation of your requests, arduous though they be and difficult, have been careful to give them a favourable hearing; and, not forgetful of that honour and reverence, which your Serene Majesty in a time of pressing necessity, as we remember having frequently announced to your Excellency, dedicated to us, as all Christendom knows, with entire devotion, are animated with a vehement desire to further your petitions, as far as duty to God permits; nor is there any honour or favour which your Highness could demand that we would not readily indulge to you.

"Nevertheless, observing that you, whom Almighty God enables to abound among the sons of men in such vast riches, and to hold sway with so much wisdom and discretion, should not desire to use these gifts in opposition to Him to obey whom is to reign, especially when He has granted your Mightiness so many triumphs over your enemies, we entirely confide in His immense goodness, and hope that He will dispose your mind and will to deal more leniently with the Church and its concerns, and that He will incline your heart to that which shall be of His good pleasure; although indeed the above-named envoys persist in assuring us, that such is the perturbation of your feelings, as to make it impossible that you should ever again on any terms receive our venerable brother the Archbishop of Canterbury, or allow your mind to relent respecting him.

"We however are unable to forget our fatherly affection for your person, but wish in all things as far as duty will permit, to honour and attend to you as a Catholic Prince and most Christian King; and in the sure hope and belief, that your discreet Providence will perceive, how, in the things of God and which pertain to the Church, it is more glorious to be conquered than to

the Pope, licensing him to sin in impunity ; and forwarded them to all the Churches and Dignitaries of each Kingdom. He boasted too, that he had in the Court such

conquer, and confiding that He, in whose hands are the hearts of Kings, will deign to mitigate your indignation, have laid our Commands on the aforesaid Archbishop, and altogether inhibited him from attempting on any account to put forth, either against yourself or your land, or the Nobles of your Realm, any sentence of Interdict or excommunication, until you take him back into your favour, and he is reconciled to you, or from presuming in any matter to aggrieve you.

“ And since it is certain that those letters which we last addressed to your Magnificence by your envoys a year ago, are for the future without force, if in the meantime the aforesaid Archbishop shall in any matter presume to aggrieve yourself, or your land, or the Nobles of your Realm, you are at liberty to show these present letters in attestation of our pleasure, and to demonstrate that you and yours are beyond the reach of his attacks.

“ As to the variations which you have discovered in our letters and our Legates*, this should in no wise surprise you, as we read even of the blessed St. Paul, that he more than once changed his purpose ; yet in this matter we cannot call to mind wherein we have changed ours. It was intimated to us, though not on your part, as a thing certain, and we were in a manner given to understand, that the above-named Archbishop might be reconciled to you through their mediation. Certain letters were moreover shown us, which seemed to warrant the same assurance still more fully. Hence it was that the above-mentioned Legates were sent by us to your Sublime Majesty in this cause, according to the word of your envoys ; and in this confidence we enjoined them before some of our brethren, while they were yet with us, on no account to preside as judges in any cause between yourself and the Archbishop ; the more especially since, as we have said, we were in a manner certain of your reconciliation. So that if at any time we have written and directed otherwise, your Wisdom ought not to think it wonderful ; nor to impute to any mutability what was done for your own honour, and in the above confidence ; the more especially since we are men, and as such, are liable in many things to be deceived and circumvented.”

* Vide p. 290.

friends as rendered all the attempts of the Archbishop of Canterbury ineffectual; friends so active in his interest, that the Archbishop could make no petition or demand, of which he did not receive immediate notice. We know the names of those whose services he makes use of, and through whose influence in the Court, the cause of God and of Christ's little ones, has been thus sold for nought. (For the multitude was not in their counsels.) Would that those ounces of gold had never been, through which, those who ought to have been the pillars of the Church, were excited to cause its fall. So elated was the King with this his triumph, that in his own family he could not refrain from naming those of the Cardinals who had accepted his pestilential gold, and those who were his agents, in dispensing to some more to some less, according to the zeal they had shown in subverting justice.

“When we were at Montmirail, the King of France learned that a messenger from his Lordship, John of Naples, had gone over from his camp to the King of England, and the other persecutors of the Church.

“The religious who take part with the King of England, when they heard the aforesaid letters, were sad beyond measure, and uttered imprecations against John of Naples, and John of St. John and St. Paul¹, who were said to have seduced his Lordship the Pope. M. Geoffrey, of Poitiers, a Cleric of my Lord Cardinal William, did not consent to the counsel and practices of the King's ambassadors, (for he himself too is waiting for the Kingdom of God) but openly protested, ‘that they had perjured themselves, and incurred an anathema;’ inasmuch as they had sworn that the Pope's Mandate should be kept secret², and

¹ [Two Cardinals.—The latter is the name of a Church in Rome, which gave a title to a Cardinal.]

² [In the Pope's letter to Henry it is—‘if the aforesaid Archbishop shall presume, &c., you are at liberty to show these present letters.’]

that his Holiness had commanded them so to keep it, in virtue of their obedience, and under peril of an anathema ; whereas they, to render us contemptible and our friends disconsolate, herald forth with their King the triumphs of their own wickedness, glorying in the confusion of the Church.

“ Would that my Lord Cardinals were within hearing of the French ; among whom it has become a proverb, that the Princes of the Church are faithless, and companions of thieves, ‘ *Ecclesiæ principes infideles, socii furum*¹ ;’ for that they authorize the plunder of Christ’s patrimony, to share in it. Would that you likewise could hear his most Christian Majesty, who, as I fear, is now irrevocably determined, at the solicitation of the Emperor, to contract a marriage between their children. Earl Henry is urging this, and entertains great hopes of succeeding.

“ And now I entreat you, use your influence with his Lordship the Pope, urging him to act the part of a Judge. Let him absolve the innocent who is bound without cause ; and condemn the impious who is now displaying to the whole world his prowess as a persecutor. Endeavour also to procure an injunction against the Archbishop of York, that he may be compelled to show deference and subjection to the suffering Church of Canterbury².

Some further details are given in a letter to the Bishop of Poitiers.

JOHN OF SALISBURY, TO THE BISHOP OF POITIERS³.

“ Just as I had finished my last, this came to my know-

¹ Isaiah i. 23.—Second Lesson for the Monday after Advent. Brev. Rom.

² [One of the subjects which Becket was treating of with the Pope, before the commencement of the contest. vid. p. 57, 69.]

³ Ep. i. 179.

ledge. One of the fruits of his Lordship the Pope's letters to the King of England has been the desertion of M. Gerard, who has returned from Cologne; and, without so much as visiting or paying formal civilities to his Lordship the Archbishop of Canterbury, who made him a Cleric and conferred on him his first benefice, has gone over at once to the King, done fealty to him, taken the same oath as the rest, and now adheres to the Court; chosen out, as it is said, for a champion against Christ's little ones in their affliction.

"The Abbot of St. Augustine's told Lord Geoffrey, late Abbot of Clairvaux¹, that he and his set neither did nor said any thing at Court except by special order from the Cardinals: that even the threats, which you heard of, were uttered by the particular direction of John of Naples, and John of St. John and St. Paul. He said too that his Lordship of Portus² had assisted the King's envoys in procuring the letters.

"The King himself too told the Bishop of Worcester, that he and the other Bishops were exempted from the jurisdiction of the Archbishop; and bade him fear no threats, for that he had his Lordship the Pope and all the Cardinals in his purse. So elated is he, that he boasts openly of having at last obtained the prerogatives of his grandfather; and that in his own Realms he is at once Legate Apostolic, Patriarch, and Emperor.

"It shall be written then in the annals of the Church of Rome, that she thus silenced the herald of the truth,

¹ [A disciple of St. Bernard, and formerly his Secretary. He was first Abbot of Igny, but in 1162 succeeded to the Abbacy of Clairvaux, which he left in 1165, and retired to Fossa Nova, in Italy, of which he was Abbot. He wrote several works now extant.]

² [Mentioned in a letter, p. 95. The Bishop of Portus was *ex officio* a Cardinal.]

the preacher of the just cause of God ; and that to please a tyrant. Good God ! what new thing is this ? The Holy Spirit hath said, ‘ Cry aloud, cease not ;’ an Apostle hath said, ‘ Make full proof of thy Ministry ;’ the Vicar Apostolic teaches, ‘ Desist, exercise it not.’

“ May my Lord the Pope provide better for the integrity of his conscience, for his future fame, for his present honour, and for the security of the Church. Do impress this upon his Holiness, and upon their Lordships the Cardinals : and let them think sometimes of the vengeance of the Lord, which Christ’s little ones invoke day and night against all oppressors of the Church.”

In this unfavourable turn of affairs we have the last winding up of the Commission of 1166. Though a failure for the object for which it was intended, viz. a final decision of the dispute in Henry’s favour, which under the auspices of the Cardinals was expected to take place, it produced the Suspension as a sort of side result ; the latter in fact being only a carrying out formally, of what the Legates had already done informally and without authority ; i. e. when they supported the last appeal of the Bishops ; and so suspended the Archbishop *virtually*, as he himself complained¹. The concession came in most opportunely for Henry ; for unable to bring the Pope over to his schemes, or settle the contest to his advantage under present circumstances, delay had been for some time his great object : and delay upon delay accordingly his party had contrived, by means of appeals, em-

¹ p. 296.

bassies, and commissions, as suited the occasion, till the mind of a less patient and resolute opponent than the Archbishop would have fairly given way. Whatever other advantages these several plans and negotiations of Henry might aim at, this was a result of them which told unquestionably in his favour, so far as it went. The final settlement of the question was delayed; and in the mean time persons and circumstances might change; the Archbishop might die, or a new Pope might succeed, with fewer scruples than his predecessor. And delay, while it was thus a gain to himself, was at the same time a plausible topic to press upon the Pope, who would be always inclined enough on his own account to put off final measures, in order to allow parties a chance of settling their own disputes, without forcing upon him the invidious office of deciding between them. At any rate it is evident from one of the letters which follow, that he had been induced to think that there were great advantages of some kind or other in waiting, and not suffering the contest to come to a crisis immediately. And therefore it became necessary for him to tie the hands of the Archbishop, who seemed likely, if left to himself, shortly to bring matters to this state, by laying the King and Realm under an Interdict. In addition to which consideration, it would appear from the Pope's letter given below, that he conceived something was owing from himself to Henry, for having disappointed him, in

the way he had done, in the matter of the late Commission.

In giving way however so far, it was evident that the Pope was acting with reluctance, and that he would have preferred balancing his conduct more evenly. As it was, while favouring one side by a positive act, he tried to soften off the impression of it toward the other, by letters and promises. He wrote to the Bishops, admitting their appeal, but censuring them severely at the same time for their disobedience to their Metropolitan¹. And whereas in his letter to Henry he had fixed no definite time for the suspension to last, but left the Archbishop in this respect altogether at his opponent's disposal, in writing to the latter on the contrary he limits the period to the following Lent². This indeed was something more than a mere verbal consolation : and the difficulty is to understand how such a difference could have found its way into two official letters, written by the same hand, at the same time. The letter to Henry, however, as we have seen, was enjoined to be kept secret, and not to be

¹ Ep. ii. 68.

² [Ep. iv. 16. The writing of the letter seems almost intentionally ambiguous :—" . . . mandamus, ut nec in ipsum nec in personas Regni—sententiam debeas promulgare, nisi *alias nostras literas reciperes*, in quibus, si idem Rex nollet tibi gratiam suam reddere, facultatem habeas in eum et suos officium tuum exercendi. Quapropter, qui tibi tanquam Fratri charissimo, proprium honorem cupimus omnibus modis conservare, nisi quod ei proposuerimus, usque ad initium proximæ *Quadragesimæ* effectui mancepaverit, *tibi ex tunc auctoritatem tuam restituimus.*"]

made use of at all, unless some strong act of the Archbishop's made its publication necessary. Such were the modes of management which the Pope had recourse to in the present delicate state of affairs, to maintain a balance between the two sides, and escape the enmity of the King, without casting off the Archbishop.

The Archbishop, on hearing of the suspension, sent a letter to the Pope; which he followed up shortly after by another: the first being written probably immediately on the report of the letter to Henry reaching him; the second after receiving the Pope's letter to himself.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, TO THE POPE¹.

“ Our persecutor and the Church's makes ill use of your Holiness's patience: ignorant, or pretending ignorance, that your Goodness endures in much long-suffering, to give him time for repentance; and in case he should persist in his folly, which God forbid, to make evident in the sight of all nations the justice of his condemnation.

“ As often as fresh envoys of his arrive from your Holiness, his insolence and cruelty towards God's Church waxes worse, and elation at his long impunity gives him fresh audacity in crime, as if his works did not already cry loud enough for inexorable judgment. First of all, John of Oxford, as if the man was not then insane enough, on his return excited him yet farther; withdrew from us the obedience of our Province, and caused excommunicates to be absolved without either pledge or satisfaction. Then followed John Cumin², who boasted that he had obtained

¹ Ep. iv. 13.

² Vide p. 239.

still more ; and, to alienate from ourself and our fellow-exiles his most Christian Majesty and his Nobles, traversed France, sallied into Burgundy ; spreading everywhere, in Churches and great men's houses, that our speedy deposition was now resolved on, though, as he said, the time and manner was a secret of the Apostolic See which he dared not reveal. And now, those who last returned give out, that the King has been indulged with a delay, and ourself suspended by your Holiness from all authority ; so that we may not put forth our hand either against himself, or any Noble of his Kingdom, for any cause whatsoever. The Abbot of St. Augustine's boasts also that he might have had his benediction from your Holiness, if only he would have submitted to the tonsure : would that he were worthy of benediction ; which in his own neighbourhood is hardly credited. They make no secret, either, that in case their demands were not acceded to, they had denounced war against the Catholic Church ; and that they had left the Court indignantly, but that the sedulity of your Holiness's brethren, who seem to be pillars of the Church, recalled them. All this they preach in the streets in proof of their magnanimity ; and perhaps to incite the Princes of the nation to do like things.

“ Holy Father, it is an easy matter to suspend the powers of our office, but not so easy to arrest the right arm of God, which is now bowing the heads of tyrants¹. Your faithful ones fear much, that, while you wait better times for the execution of justice, the best may slip away from you. Our enemies are now in a strait. He who terrifies is himself more terrified. ‘ Be comforted,’ saith the Lord, ‘ and be strong, and fear not their faces, for I am with thee.’

“ Little credit would be given to the boasts of the King's envoys, except that the Cardinal is of the same mind, and

¹ [The Emperor is meant.]

has signified this to us both by word and in writing. For this reason we send you your dearly beloved and most faithful son, one approved to us in all things, and a partner of our sufferings, M. Lombard, who well knows our straitnesses, and the malice of the adversary, and will faithfully relate what is said in the Church of France of all that is done against us. One more loyal to your Holiness and the Church, and more suited for our purpose, could not possibly have been found. May your Holiness be pleased to hear him.....

“What the persecutors of the Church wish for and expect, God deny it them! is to see the sorrows of the faithful on the departure of your Holiness; that after your days they may enslave the Church without opposition. This is the real drift of their petitions for delay, contrary to God and justice.

“Most holy Father, may your divinely inspired Wisdom provide, before you go hence, for the chastisement of such enormities.”

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, TO THE POPE¹.

“O, my Father, my soul is in bitterness; the letters in which your Holiness was pleased to suspend me, have made myself and my unhappy fellow-exiles, a very scorn of men and outcast of the people; and, what grieves me worse, have delivered up God’s Church to the will of its enemies.

“Our persecutor had held out sure hopes to the Earl of Flanders, and others of the French Nobility, that he meant to make peace with us. But his messengers arrived with their new powers from your Holiness, and all was at an end.

“What could our friends do for us when thus repulsed

¹ Ep. iv. 14.

by your Holiness's act, and smitten down as with the club of Hercules?

"Would that your Holiness's ear could hear what is said of this matter by the Bishops, Nobles, and Commons, of both Realms; and that your eye could see the scandal with which it has filled the French Court.

"What is there that this man may not now look for, when, through agents famous only for their crimes, he has circumvented those who have the key of knowledge, overthrown the ministers of justice, and seared the majesty of the Apostolic See?

"It is no longer doubted that John of Oxford deceived your Holiness, and with impunity; and surely to be deceived once in such a matter is inconvenient; nor will the English Church quickly recover from the ill effects of it, dissemble as it may. But that venerable Abbot of St. Augustine's, once a runaway Monk, for his merits excommunicate, who dilapidates and pollutes the Church he governs, has with his fellow-envoys practised a far worse deception. For lo! this King, whose sole hope rests on the chance of your Holiness's death or mine, has obtained the very thing he wishes;—a fresh delay, in which one or other of these events may happen; God avert them.

"But your Holiness counsels me to bear with patience the meanwhile.....

"And do you not observe, O Father, what this meanwhile may bring about, to the injury of the Church and of your Holiness's reputation?

"Meanwhile, he applies to his own purposes the revenues of the vacant Abbeys and Bishoprics, and will not suffer Pastors to be ordained there. Meanwhile, he riots in uncontrolled insolence against the Parishes, Churches, holy places, and the whole sacred order. Meanwhile, he and the other persecutors of the Church, make their will

their law. Meanwhile, who is to take charge of the sheep of Christ, and save them from the jaws of wolves, who no longer prowl around, but have entered the fold, and devour, and tear, and slay, with none to resist them? For what Pastor is there whose voice you have not silenced? what Bishop have you not suspended in suspending me?

“This act of your Holiness’s is alike unexampled and unmerited, and will do the work of Tyrants in other days as well as yours. Your Holiness has set an example ready to their hands; and doubtless this man and his posterity, unless your Holiness takes steps to order otherwise, will draw it into a precedent. He and his Nobles, whatever be their crime, will claim among the privileges of the Realm, exemption from any sentence of excommunication or Interdict, till authorized by the Apostolic See; then in time, when the evil has taken root, neither will the Chief Priest of Rome himself find any in the whole Kingdom, to take part with him against the King and his Princes.

“This in fact is what they are now driving at; this and nothing else is the real cause of my banishment. Nor is it true, as I hear is whispered among some of my Lords, your Holiness’s brethren, that your Holiness may impute to me the loss of those pilgrimages from England, which used to be made under your predecessors: rather may you impute to me, together with Christ’s little ones and my fellow-exiles, that in that country any thing yet remains to you.

“Be pleased to read over the Bill of those reprobate Usages which he claims against the Church, and on account of which I am banished; and your Holiness will see clearly that before I made any stand, he had by these same Usages stopped the mouths of all who would appeal to your Court; prohibited all ecclesiastical persons from crossing the water till an oath had been exacted from

them; suffocated the right of election; drawn all causes, ecclesiastical as well as civil, before his own Courts; and run his dagger into every liberty of the Church.

“Who, of all that have appealed to the See of Rome in your Holiness’s time, or under your predecessor, ever either by law, or love, or money, succeeded in obtaining redress against him? To this day the Bishop of Exeter is suffering for the appeal of his predecessor, on account of which the Church of Boscham has been iniquitously withdrawn from him. The Bishop of Salisbury, whose violent doings have now procured him a show of favour, is still spoiled of the Castle of Devizes and many other possessions of his Church; only because he dared to claim restitution, to which the King was pledged on oath, in virtue of letters from your predecessors, Adrian and Anastatius. The day would fail me, if I wished to run through the similar encroachments which have been made on different Churches of the kingdom; some of which have lost their possessions and all their liberty, the recovery of which seems now past hope. But let that reprobate Bill be only read over, and my Lords, the abettors of the King, will see what privileges and prerogatives are reserved to them in his dominions.

“They will say, perhaps, it was out of hatred to myself that the Bill was framed.

“But in truth, from the very day of his accession to power, he took up the persecution of the Church as it were an heirloom. Was I Archbishop when his Father prohibited the envoys of the Blessed Eugenius from setting foot on his territory? Was I Archbishop when Gregory, Cardinal Deacon of St. Angelo, foreseeing this man’s tyranny, persuaded my Lord Eugenius to forbid the coronation of Eustace, King Stephen’s son, saying that a ram was more easily held by the horns than a lion by the tail?

Your Holiness will recollect this history, and likewise the letters which were then procured by him who is now at York, and joins the King in my persecution; yea aims at overthrowing the Church's liberty. Was I Archbishop when, taking offence at an appeal, the King transferred the Church of Boscham to the Bishop of Lisieux, who by his grammar and his flatteries still holds it to the injury of the Church of Exeter? And what success had the Bishop of Chichester against the Abbot of Battle; when on his daring to speak before the Court of Apostolic privileges, and to denounce the Abbot excommunicate, he was forthwith compelled to communicate with him in the face of all present, without even the form of Absolution, and to receive him to the kiss of peace? For such was the King's pleasure, and that of the Court, which dared not to oppose his will in any thing. And this, most holy Father, happened in the time of my predecessor, and your Holiness.

“And now let those who attribute all this to hatred of myself name, if they can, any instance in this man's time, in which the authority of the See of Rome has availed any single person in his Realm, so as to procure justice against himself or his favourites. Truly I can recollect none; though I could name many whom his hatred of the See of Rome has brought into jeopardy.

“Achardus, Abbot of St. Victor's, was elected Bishop of Seez. What prevented his Ordination, except that his election had been confirmed by the Chief Priest Adrian? And why did the King consent afterwards, to his being made Bishop of Avranches, except that no election had preceded his own choice? Frogerius¹ too, in like manner, was not elected to the See of Seez, but intruded into it: and all this before my promotion.

“And yet I doubt not that this struggle for the Church's

¹ [See p. 151.]

liberty would long ago have been brought to a close, unless his wilfulness, not to use a harsher term, had found patrons in the Church of Rome. God requite them as is best for His Church and for themselves. The Almighty All-just Lord God judge between me and them. Little should I have needed their patronage, if I had chosen to forsake the Church, and yield to his wilfulness myself. I might have flourished in wealth and abundance of delicacies; I might have been feared, courted, honoured, and might have provided for my own in luxury and worldly glory, as I pleased. But because God called me to the government of His Church, an unworthy sinner as I was, and most wretched, though flourishing in the world's goods beyond all my countrymen, through His grace preventing and assisting me, I chose rather to be an outcast from the palace, to be exiled, proscribed, and to finish my life in the last wretchedness, than to sell the Church's liberty, and to prefer the iniquitous traditions of men, to the law of God.

“Such a course be for those who promise themselves many days, and in the consciousness of their deserts, expect better times. For myself, I know that my own days are few; and that unless I declare to the wicked man his ways, his blood will shortly be required at my hands, by One from whom no patronage can protect me.

“There silver and gold will be profitless, and gifts that blind the eyes of wise ones.

“We shall soon stand all of us before the tribunal of Christ, and by His Majesty and terrible Judgment I conjure your Holiness, as my Father and Lord, and as the supreme Judge on earth, to render justice to His Church, and to myself, against those who seek my life to take it away.

“I am now reduced to such a case, that I am a mere pensioner on the bounty of his most Christian Majesty;

nor have I any longer the means to support an envoy at your Holiness's Court. May it please your Holiness to bring to a close the sorrows of the See of Canterbury, and to remove the scandals which infest the Church, by absolving your Holiness's servant, and by writing to his most Christian Majesty and to the Church of France, that unless the King of England attends to your commonitions, and restores to the Church its peace and its property, in that case you authorize me to use my powers against his person and territory, and that you enjoin as obligatory on all the Bishops the sentence, which, by God's grace, I shall not be tardy in pronouncing."

In the same strain he writes to his friend the Archbishop of Mayence.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, TO CONRAD,
ARCHBISHOP OF MAYENCE¹.

"Animæ suæ plusquam dimidio, Thomas Cantuariensis Ecclesiæ miserabilis exul, salutem, et se totum, deductâ miserâ, cujus semper expertes amicos esse desidero.

"The Lord comfort you in all your ways. For you have sorrowed at my sufferings and those of my fellow-exiles as your own, and, as I know by experience, have laboured hard to shelter the Church of God and my poor household from the bitters of proscription.

"At present, the King of England is causing my suspension to be cried through the streets of both Kingdoms, and, in witness of my overthrow, is exhibiting the Apostolic Letters, to make me odious and wearisome in the sight of men. He boasts that the term granted him, lasts till he pleases to receive me into favour, which, if he is

¹ Ep. iv. 15.

allowed, he will put off till the Greek Kalends;—i. e. for ever.

“But your Lordship advises me to bear with patience the meanwhile; you are large in your praises of this virtue-patience, and seem not to be aware, that I have by me no lack of counsellors, to do as they say in the comedy; ‘healthy men give good advice to sick ones¹.’ If you were here you would think otherwise. For who that is not senseless, when a dagger is run into him, can help wincing? Yet since this matter is past help, so long as God sees fit, I will make myself bear it manfully; yet not I, but the grace of God which is with me.

“You bestow commendations too on the zeal, friendship, and sincerity of my Lord’s Cardinals. I likewise have confidence in some of them, the rather that this is the cause of God and of the Church of Rome, more than me and mine. God repay them the good they are doing and shall do for the proscribed exiles of Christ. As for the others, may He convert them, and make them of one mind in the Lord; and let them not subvert justice, disgrace the Apostolic See, and put their souls in jeopardy, sequentes retributiones. In their letters they profess sympathy with me and mine; but the Poet answers me with a smile, ‘all sympathize, none succour.’ And truly their works that they do bear them testimony.

“You counsel me to use every effort to make my peace with the Tyrant, this persecutor and tormentor of the Church. But the approaches to peace have been cut off by the See of Rome, and those Cardinals of whom he boasts as his Counsellors. Quite lately, hopes of peace had been held out; and I was summoned, through the Earl of Flanders, to attend a conference, when his messen-

¹ Facile omnes quum valemus recta consilia ægrotis damus.
Andria, Act. ii. Sc. 1.

gers and others from his Cardinals returned from my Lord the Pope, bringing with them the letters of suspension, and arming him with horns to reject peace, while he pleases, and meanwhile to buffet God's Church, with Apostolic authority.

“ You write, that fortune seems intent on breaking up the confederacy of the Italian States, to the detriment of the Roman See. Now, my good friend, why think you this has happened, except because you are not grateful enough to God your deliverer, but devise schemes for securing yourselves ; as if it had been your own high hand, and not the Lord, that in this past year has done marvellous things ? I do not mean this for your Lordship and others, who walk in the right way, but for those who desert the Church and seek after lucre.

“ And now because the Church of Canterbury is almost destroyed, and I and my fellow-exiles worn down and afflicted above measure, I pray you, &c.....”

Becket had his supporters also among the Cardinals, to whom he applied in the present emergency ; and his friends at the same time in France interested themselves for him, and sent remonstrances to the Pope, as they had done before on the occasion of the concessions made to John of Oxford. The Pope was informed by the Archbishop of Sens¹, the Bishop of Meaux², and others, that it was considered hard treatment from his Holiness, that he should have overlooked the known feelings of his old and tried friends, and faithful supporters of his

¹ Ep. ii. 62.

² [Ep. iv. 20. Bishop of Meaux, to the Pope. Ep. iv. 21. Treasurer of Sens, to the Pope.]

interests in France, in order to humour the wishes of a Monarch who was obviously ill-affected both to himself and to the Church. They declared that the present concession was worse than any that had been made before; and added in conclusion that the King of France had had offers of alliance from the Emperor, and would have less scruple in accepting them after the treatment now shown him; though hitherto he had forborne complying with the latter's wishes, out of respect and delicacy to the Pope; and that, when his public advisers and courtiers were continually urging him to consult his own choice, in promoting the interests of his family and Kingdom. Louis himself, in a remonstrance which he sent up on this occasion, said very plainly, that "he did not know now what answer to return to the Emperor and his party; the Pope himself must instruct him¹."

In the mean time Henry, after publishing all over the country, and proclaiming in the Churches the letters of Suspension², was turning the license which they gave him to practical account. He had already alienated many of the lands and possessions

¹ [Ep. ii. 59. His Queen also wrote in the same tone as the rest. Ep. iv. 19.]

² [".... literas suspensionis nostræ quas Dominus Papa—transmisit, per totum regnum suum, necnon specialiter per omnes ecclesias, publice ad confusionem nostram divulgavit." Ep. iv. 28. The Archbishop to M. Lombard his envoy at Rome, sent at the same time with his letter to the Pope. M. Lombard is told particularly to mention this fact of the publication of the letters to the Pope.]

of the Church of Canterbury, besides committing much wanton destruction on what was left; and had begun to levy exactions on the whole body of the Clergy; only allowing them the privilege of collecting the sum required among themselves¹. Nor were these temporary excesses all; his hopes were now raised to an extraordinary height, and he entertained, it seems, the idea of making his present state of impunity perpetual, as the Archbishop gives the Pope to understand in the following letter. He writes in the first instance to recommend a poor Monk, who goes to represent to the Pope the sufferings of the house to which he belongs, owing to what had followed from the late letters of Suspension.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, TO THE POPE².

“Amantissimo Patri et Domino Alexandro Dei gratia summo Pontifici, Thomas Cantuariensis Ecclesie Minister humilis, miser ac solito miserabilior exul, salutem, et debitam in omnibus, etiam in adversis, obedientiam.

“The bearer of these³, whom we recommend to your Holiness, will give you a faithful and accurate account of the sufferings which occasion his journey, and of the man-

¹ [“Nemora et villas et omnes possessiones Cantuarensis ecclesie omnino destruit alienat et confundit.—Interventu Episcoporum concessit eis pariter, et Abbatibus, et minoribus Clericis, per singulas ecclesias hanc fieri per seipsos exactionem.” Ep. iv. 28.]

² Ep. ii. 54.

³ [In the letter to M. Lombard, the Archbishop calls him, “pauperem Clericum, qui de quadam paupere domo est Monialium in Anglia Deo servientium.”]

ner in which he and his brethren have been dealt with, in consequence of your Holiness's letters. Unless the goodness of God affords them some relief at your Holiness's hands, the whole Order is utterly undone. May it please your Holiness to let him and his brethren find some benefit from our request in their behalf, although indeed the injustice of their sufferings should be their best recommendation.

“And now we must repeat our wish, that your Lordship would consider more deeply, and look in the face more resolutely, the extent of almost hopeless confusion, which has been brought on the English Church, and the whole Order throughout that Kingdom, by the unprecedented and sad indulgence which he boasts of having extorted. Would that those friends of his, who support him in the Court, were as truly friends of God and of the Church, and that they would court divine favour as well as the favour of Princes.

“Your Holiness perhaps thinks that this is easily recalled, and that his having obtained it will then avail him little. But the source from which the favour flowed abides with him and with his successors; and he, to whom the hope of sheltering himself or his accomplices from the sentence due to them, through any arts, either of himself or his friends, ought never even to have occurred, now dares to conceive a scheme for perpetuating his exemption.

“One thing however there is, which, if we may say so to your Holiness, affords us a melancholy consolation. It is thus that the Church of Rome is wont to requite her friends. May God do better for her than she has in this matter done for herself, and for the Church of England and us and ours.

“Well do we know, and grieved we are to think of it, that crime wears not out with old age, wickedness is never

obsolete ; but what ceases to be an outrage, is then a precedent.

“ May your Holiness fare well, and be strong ; and may it please you ere long to condescend to my relief, that I, whose life is a death, may at least live.”

The Pope, either roused by these remonstrances, or by seeing the ill use which had been made of his indulgence, began now to retrace his steps ; and endeavoured first to console the Archbishop, and pacify Louis by explaining the grounds of expediency on which he had acted. Tolerance, he said, was necessary for a time, and he did not intend it to last any longer, than the actual difficulties of the times required. When the period fixed for the Suspension had expired, the Archbishop should be restored to his full powers as before.

These apologies were followed by a more decisive step ; viz. the appointment of an embassy for the purpose of remonstrating with Henry, and pressing him to reconciliation, on peril of the sentence of the Church, which would otherwise inevitably fall upon him, when the restraint at present imposed upon the Archbishop should be removed. This appointment took place toward the close of the present year¹, the envoys chosen being, Simon, Prior of Montdieu, Engelbert, Prior of le Val de St. Pierre, and Bernard, a Monk of Grammont.

¹ [Ep. iv. 1. The Pope's official letter to the Priors of Montdieu, and le Val de St. Pierre. It is written from Beneventum, where the Pope was now residing ; and contains the expression, “ ante initium proximæ Quadragesimæ, quæ jam quasi instare videtur ;” which seems to fix the date of it.]

In the mean time, the artifice which had been employed to procure the Suspension had got abroad. We left the Legates, it may be remembered, lingering on within the neighbourhood of the two parties, with no other aim apparently than to give countenance to Henry and his Bishops, and interfere, whenever an occasion offered itself, to the Archbishop's prejudice. The following letter will tell us how they managed matters on their departure.

JOHN OF SALISBURY, TO THE BISHOP OF EXETER¹.

"Suo Benedicto suus Gratianus, salutem et benedictionem a Domino.

"As the bearer of this is well known to you, I have left much unsaid on paper, and trusted it to him for secrecy's sake. However I send you a succinct account of the public affairs of Church and State, in which you are as much interested as I am.

"The Cardinals are recalled, and now are on their return; penitent, and confessing with shame that in too many points they have sacrificed the Church to the King's wishes. One of them, I mean his Lordship of Pavia, upheld him in every thing; and the other acted less vigorously than became a man of whom such high hopes had been formed. It is now well known that the letters of which the King boasts, those, i. e. which restrained the powers of his Lordship of Canterbury, till such time as he should have recovered the King's favour, were obtained by the following artifice. The said Lord William of Pavia knew that his Lordship of Canterbury had obtained from

¹ Ep. ii. 108.

the Apostolic See permission to anathematize the King, and put the Kingdom under an Interdict; unless the King, within a certain limited time, made thorough restitution to the Churches, and gave due satisfaction likewise. In consequence he wrote to his Lordship the Pope, entreating with tragic earnestness, that he would deal with the King less harshly; that otherwise, to the eternal disgrace of the Church of Rome, the said King would throw himself and his colleague into prison, where they would pass a short and wretched life, even worse than death. When he had made it believed that the King would do this, under pretence of pacifying him, and thus liberating himself and his colleague, he procured that Apostolic Rescript which has inflicted such a wound on the minds of yourself and all the faithful; but he could not procure the recall of those letters in which the Pope reminds the King, that under his own hand, and likewise through his envoys, he had pledged his faith to make peace, on condition that this great honour was conferred upon him¹. A request was made for extending the time to a year, but without success; indeed the Apostolic Vicar intimated to the envoys, that the indulgence would be recalled at no distant day, unless the King made his peace with the Archbishop. At present it is actually recalled, unless the King makes satisfaction within a fixed time; after which it is free to the Archbishop to proceed with vigour on the letters which I mentioned above. It is for this reason that the Cardinals have been so anxious to escape out of his hands.

¹ [This accounts for the expression in the letter to Henry, that the Suspension should last "*till he was reconciled to the Archbishop.*" The Pope seems to have taken for granted, that Henry was going to enter very soon on a reconciliation; so soon, in fact, that no exact limit need be assigned to any indulgence to him previous to it.]

The bearer will supply other particulars, fitter to be said than written. When you know all, you will be able to walk circumspectly. If anything comes to light tending to prejudice the existing decrees, I will lose no time in informing you.

“Peace between the Kings was but just now under discussion; but the King of England has acted so evasively, that it now seems almost hopeless; though neither side wishes for war. They would certainly have come to an agreement long ago, but, as often as things have seemed on the point of settlement, the King of England has attempted to introduce some new stipulation. Hence it generally happens, that things take a turn, the direct opposite to what he schemes for.....A copy of the Apostolic Constitution shall be sent you by the first opportunity, I hope shortly; and with it an account of what happens in the interval.

“I ought not to have omitted, that Lord Otho, a few days before he took leave of the King, strongly urged him to make peace with the Archbishop. He answered that, for the love he bore their Lordships the Pope and Cardinals, he would allow the Archbishop to return in peace to his See, and take possession of his Church and his property. As to the Usages, which had been so long a subject of contention, he said that he and his children would be content to claim only those, which a hundred men from England, a hundred from Normandy, a hundred from Anjou, and so from his other dominions, would prove on oath to have been claimed by his predecessors. Or if this condition displeased the Archbishop, he said he was willing to abide by the judgment of three Bishops from England, and three from this side the water; viz. Rouen, Baieux, and Le Mans. Or, if this was not enough, he would submit to the arbitration of his Lordship the Pope, saving

only the rights of his heirs : during his own life-time he could submit to his Lordship the Pope cancelling what Usages he pleased. It was demanded what he would do for the Archbishop and his friends about the restitution of goods, claimed as due from him. He answered that he would restore nothing, because, as he swore with many recondite oaths, he had spent all he had received on the Churches, and on the poor. *Credat Judeus.* The Cardinal hinted besides, that unless the King adopted other counsels towards God's Church, God and the Church would visit him more strictly and more speedily, than he perhaps might think. And thus on receiving his passport he took his leave.

“ Soon after, Cardinal William of Pavia addressed him to the same effect ; but the seed of his words fell upon sand.

“ On their return they visited his most Christian Majesty, and were restored to his favour, on the conditions of which the bearer will inform you.

“ The Poitains quit themselves like men, laying waste far and wide on every side of them.”

CHAPTER XV.

CONFERENCES AT MOUNTMIRAIL.

THE suspension of the Archbishop having been granted in the first instance conditionally, on the understanding of a reconciliation being about to be attempted on Henry's part, the main object of the new Embassy¹ was to press upon the King the fulfilment of his pledge. Accordingly it was charged with Papal letters to this effect, first hortatory, and then comminatory, to be delivered to the King in due form, with an interval between, as if an interdict were forthcoming. These letters commanded the King, as an obedient son of the Church, to be reconciled to the Archbishop; and they were to be accompanied also with suitable argument and advice from the mouths of the Envoys themselves.

The Envoys, though appointed in the latter part of the present year, did not commence proceedings immediately: a delay occasioned by certain proposals for a conference which issued from the King's

¹ [It must be observed, that this was not a Legatine Commission, but only an Embassy, deputed to carry a message, and nothing more.]

side, and were favourably received by some of the Archbishop's party, though Becket himself declined from the very first to listen to them. They were the same which Henry had made to the Legates on their departure, and which were mentioned in the last letter, viz. that the present disputes should be decided by the arbitration of certain Bishops, or other persons, chosen out of England, Normandy, and his other dominions. The Bishop of Poitiers put himself forward, as the Archbishop's representative, to meet these advances; and entered into communication with Henry, intending to bring the two parties to a conference. The following letter and the answer to it would appear to have been written some time after the affair had been going on.

THE BISHOP OF POITIERS, TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF
CANTERBURY¹.

“ This is the form in which I have addressed the King. ‘ I have endeavoured to persuade the Archbishop to be guided, respecting those words which broke the peace between him and your Majesty, by the advice of their Lordships of Rouen and Le Mans, and Seez, and by mine and that of the other Bishops who were at the conference, or if he suspected any of these, to put him aside; for that your Majesty would accept of any other Bishop in his place, only that he must be from your dominions; and then that according to their advice he would either drop the words altogether, or modify their form, so as to remove all farther doubt. But the Archbishop replied, that

¹ Ep. iii. 7.

neither the advice of his Lordship of Rouen, nor yet mine, nor that of any other mortal, would be as profitable or honourable to him as your Majesty's; and that there was no other from whose counsels he had reaped so much honour; and therefore that, if it pleased your Majesty to admit him to your counsel, he would consent that you should first provide for your own honour and that of your Realm, and then for himself, in such a manner as should not offend the Pope, to whom he is bound, nor injure the Church, which he ought to benefit. But that it was expedient that, before your meeting, so much should be settled and determined on, as to leave no question open, which, on your coming together, might cause an unseemly separation such as lately took place.'

"The King on his part received the proposal more favourably than I expected, and added that in whatever he counselled you, he would attend first to God's honour, and then to his own, and that of his Realm; and that in providing for your Lordship, he would take care, as far as in reason he could, to save you from any thing painful. But the settlement of terms could never (he said) be effected between you, while he and your Lordship resided so far from one another.

"It seems desirable then that you should come to some place in his neighbourhood, to facilitate an interchange of messages when the arrangement is under discussion. What he would like most, is that himself should be at Tours and your Lordship at Marmoutier¹: or, if you object to this, he may be at Tours and you at Chousy, the place where his Lordship the Pope held his conference with the Kings, a short way this side of Blois².

¹ Majus Monasterium.

² [In the year 1160, after the Pope had taken refuge in France from the opposition of the Germans and the Antipope's

“ He has named a day too, i. e. the installation of the blessed St. Peter¹. But I am to give him notice eight days before in Normandy, whether it is your pleasure to observe it.”

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, TO THE BISHOP
OF POITIERS².

“ Venerabili Fratri, et amicorum in Christo carissimo, Thomas Dei gratiâ Cantuarensis Ecclesiæ Minister humilis, salutem, et se totum.

“ Why have you used me thus ? Why have you put a halter round my neck and your own ?

“ You have given that man an opportunity to speak ill of both of us, and to act the malignant against me. The animal greedy of glory, and hasting to ruin the Church, will cause it to be spread abroad and proclaimed through the streets, that I have submitted absolutely and precisely to what he counsels, making no reservation, nor mentioning God’s honour or my Order ; whereas now, of all times, it is most necessary to mention them, when the very point contended for is their suppression to the Church’s detriment. To suppress them now would be nothing short of downright apostacy.

“ If your Lordship remembers, these were not the terms on which you left me at Etampes. Allow me to remind you that, in the act of parting from each other, I told you to insist on one point, and one only ; viz. that this man

faction. “ The two Kings met the Pope at the castle of Torci on the Loire ; and they gave him such marks of respect, that both dismounted to receive him, and holding each of them one of the reins of his bridle, walked on foot by his side, and conducted him in that submissive manner into the castle.” Hume, vol. i. p. 381.]

¹ Feb. 22.

² Ep. v. 9.

should restore me his favour and peace according to the Pope's Mandate, and that he should leave my Church to my own free disposal : and that when you asked me whether, in case the King wished to speak with me, and named a day for a conference, I would consent to attend it, I answered, that I would hear of no conference with him till he had responded to the Pope's Mandate, and what is more, done what it requires : but that afterwards I would readily come at a day appointed, and would do all that could be done, saving God's honour and my Order.

“ These, my very dear friend, were the terms on which we parted : and by these, be pleased to notice, it would have been much better for you to abide ; for you know well, no one better, that I dare on no account advance one step farther ; and that I neither can nor ought to do so, in duty to God.

“ So now, my soul's half, I wish you to know that it is not my intention, nor do I think it even safe, to make any appointments with him, or to attend his conferences, till he has accepted the Pope's Mandate and acted in conformity with it ; lest haply, which God forbid, I should become in any way a party to these delays, and allow the blame of frustrating the Pope's Mandate to be put off upon myself. How little this would expedite my cause is easily seen.

“ Farewell ever.”

In spite of this letter, the Bishop of Poitiers does not quite understand his mistake, and writes afterwards to John of Salisbury to ask why the Archbishop declines a meeting. The answer he receives is, that conciliatory measures had been tried long enough on the Church's side ; and that the only reason why Henry was anxious for a meeting now,

was that he was on the point of sending an embassy to Rome, and wished for some means of diverting the Archbishop's attention from his designs in that quarter. This is John of Salisbury's opinion. The Envoys however encouraged the scheme, in the hope that it might bring matters to a settlement without their own interference; and were inclined to delay the execution of their message till Henry had had time to adopt a quieter tone, and more moderate pretensions. John of Salisbury accordingly writes to quicken their steps.

JOHN OF SALISBURY, TO SIMON, PRIOR OF MONTDIEU, AND
ENGELBERT, PRIOR DU VAL DE S. PIERRE¹.

“Venerabilibus Dominis et amicis, Simoni Priori de Monte Dei, et Engelberto de Valle S. Petri, suus Joannes de Saresberia, salutem, et in causâ Dei prosperari.

“Your Wisdoms may remember, that his Lordship of Canterbury has not been pleased from the first with your delaying to execute the Apostolic Mandate; though, at the solicitation of F.² Bernard, he consented to allow him time for consideration till the next conference, on the assurance that there were hopes in the meanwhile of bringing the man to a better mind.

¹ Ep. iv. 29.

² [Fratr Bernardus.—He had a place in the Embassy, though not mentioned in the Pope's official letter: an informal kind of appointment, which seems to have been not unusual, as we meet with it afterwards in 1170 in the instance of the Archbishop of Sens. The object may have been to have a person who could confer with parties in a more free and private way, than was consistent with a strictly official appointment. Or, in some cases, he may have been intended as a watch upon the Envoys themselves.]

“ Now, however, from letters which I have just received, it is clearer than light that the deputation of his Lordship of Poitiers was contrived to delude yourselves and the Church : I wish I could be sure that my good friend himself had no share in the plot. For the result shows that, while we have stood still waiting for peace, he has been actively employing himself against God’s honour and the Church’s liberty.

“ And what else was to be expected ? He had reconnoitred our strength, and with his iniquity had, I will not say bought, for that is not so, but stealthily possessed himself of the general favour ; while the other, who alone at that difficult crisis had dared to enter a protest for God’s honour, became a laughter and a hissing, and on his departure was as it were spit upon by all. What wonder then, that iniquity thus armed with craft and favour should expect an easy triumph ?

“ As you advised, I pressed his Lordship of Rheims to write to F. Bernard, but he would not, as he said his letters would be of no use, for he believes him to favour the other side : and certainly his frequent visits do look as if his boasted poverty did not exempt him from ambition or covetousness.

“ My Lord of Canterbury does not choose that I or any of his should attend, except M. Lombard, Sub-deacon of the Church of Rome, whom you will find in the suite of his Lordship of Sens. May the Lord conduct you thither in the spirit and power of Elias, and may he guide and nerve your zeal in wielding the spear of Phineas ! Fear not the look of men, nor their multitude, for they that are with us are more and stronger than they which are against us.

“ The Archbishop of Rheims writes on our behalf to the Pope, and leaves the form of the letters to my discre-

tion : he promises, too, that as long as I need he will supply my wants.

“Quit yourselves like men, I pray you, my dearest masters, and atone for your delays by the zeal and vigour with which you act at last. Take care to publish your opinion, that whatever demands are made on his Lordship of Canterbury beyond what he has offered to concede, are not merely an excess of Tyranny, but a proof of plain and downright Godlessness. Some, you know, have pretended to quote your Holinesses¹ in justification of their own perverse counsels. Show now by your boldness in bearing witness to the truth, that you have never been parties to their heresy.

“Where the spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty.”

²We are now arrived at a crisis in which the Archbishop's constancy seems to have been put to a severer trial, than on any other occasion throughout the controversy. Up to this time, cruelly as he had been persecuted by the King of England, and basely as he had been compromised by the Court of Rome, still his condition had not been one of utter destitution. From the pious King of France he had from the first experienced a uniform and most friendly support, and the principal Nobles and Ecclesiastics of that kingdom had countenanced and assisted him by every means in their power. It remained to be seen how he would act when this support and countenance were withdrawn, and when he was thrown entirely on his own resources. Up

¹ *Prætextu Sanctitatis vestræ.*

² This and the next page are the Author's.

to this time likewise, the demands that had been made upon him had been couched in a shape of menace, such as might naturally excite opposition even in inferior minds ; and besides had come from a party in whose friendship and good opinion the Archbishop had nothing to lose. He had yet to show whether his firmness was of that loftier texture, which is proof as well against the grave disapprobation of friends, as against the attack of enemies : whether, as he had hitherto proved his readiness to brave the hostility of Henry, he was now equally ready to forego the “ golden estimation ” he had acquired in the eyes of Louis and the Court of France.

A succession of failures, and the insurrections of his subjects in almost every part of his dominions, had convinced Henry toward the end of 1168, that it was necessary for him to make peace with the King of France on any terms which he could obtain. Accordingly he proposed a conference to Louis ; which, after much solicitation, was agreed to ; and the two parties met at length, on the day of the Epiphany, at Mountmirail, on the borders of the Chartraine. The results of the meeting, so far as they affect the political relations of France and England, are thus related by John of Salisbury in a fragment of a letter to the Bishop of Exeter.

JOHN OF SALISBURY, TO BARTHOLOMEW, BISHOP OF
EXETER¹.

“The fortune of mortals has its ebbs and flows: or rather He who rules the winds and the sea now elevates, now depresses it.

“Thus it has just happened that the illustrious King of England, after repeated solemn and public protestations that he would never return to the homage of his most Christian Majesty, has nevertheless changed his purpose, and adopting wiser counsels, made supplication on Epiphany last at Mountmirail, in the Chartraine, placing his sons, his territory, his power and treasures, all at the arbitrary disposal of the King of France, to use or abuse, preserve or take away at his pleasure, or give them to whom he pleased, or in what proportion he pleased, unrestricted by any condition whatever. Besides all this he has given sundry secret pledges, which nevertheless will, it is thought, be soon made public.

“On the other part the most merciful Prince has received him kindly, thanking God for having softened his mind, and himself for condescending as he ought to the necessities of the Church and of his people.

“In this way he has returned the homage, and made oath in person to *preserve* his allegiance as Duke of Normandy to the King of France, promising his dutiful assistance against all enemies whatsoever. On this they joined hands and interchanged the kiss.

“The King of France then restored to the King of England his vassals of Poitou and Bretagne, having first taken surety for the restitution of all lands and castles which had been seized from the beginning of the war, and

¹ Ep. J. S. 268.

for the future preservation of peace ; each party agreeing to make compensation for burning and homicide.

“ The next day our King introduced his sons, Henry and Richard, the first of whom did homage and fealty to the King of France for the Earldoms of Anjou and Maine, (as to Tours, the King himself remains in the homage of Earl Theobald for it) the other received the Earldom of Poitou on the same terms.

“ The chief instruments of this peace were Earl Theobald and F. Bernard of Grammont, who had been privy to the secret pledge I mentioned above. In all the arrangements the French consider their interests to have been fully attended to ; the more so as the homage and fealty, which had been before done by Henry, the son of the King of England, when he was betrothed to the King of France’s daughter, was the great thing they had been wishing to enforce.

“ Only a few days before, the King of England had received letters commonitory from the Pope in behalf of his Lordship of Canterbury, through that holy man the Prior of Montdieu, and the above-named Bernard of Grammont. I send you a copy. And the King on his part had given hopes of peace, if his Lordship the Archbishop would make a show of submission ; and had made the holy men believe, that his real wish was to restore peace and liberty to the Church, and make the Archbishop next to himself in the government of his kingdom. For this reason they had counselled his most Christian Majesty to invite his Lordship to this colloquy ; and he was present accordingly with his co-exiles. On presenting himself to the King, he knelt in the sight of all, and made use of this form of words : ‘ Have mercy on me, O my Lord, for I throw myself on God and your Majesty, to the honour of God and your Majesty.’ But the King, who had

promised peace to the Church while he thought his own in danger, was now so elated with his prosperity, that he could not refrain from insulting his supplicant; so that the French, who were before aware of his insincerity, have now also discovered his ill-breeding. To give his most iniquitous cause an air of justice before the holy King and the other Nobles, he concluded his falsehoods and reproaches thus :

“ ‘ My Lord King, and you, O holy men and Nobles, I declare to you, I require nothing more from the Archbishop than the observance of certain Usages, which his five immediate predecessors (some of whom are Saints and have performed miracles) all observed, and to which he himself has pledged himself; let him again pledge himself to these in your Lordships’ presence, without any mental reservation or subterfuge. This is the sole cause of disagreement between myself and his Lordship.....’ ”

Thus far John of Salisbury. It is to be regretted that, owing to the mutilated state of the remainder of this letter, the termination of this conference has not been handed down by his accurate pen. The following is the account which the Envoys sent up.

SIMON, PRIOR OF MONTDIEU, AND ENGELBERT, PRIOR OF
LE VAL DE S. PIERRE, TO THE POPE¹.

“ We presented ourselves a few days since, in company with F. Bernard de Corilo, before the illustrious King of England, and, in virtue of your Holiness’s mandate, attempted to restore peace between himself and his Lordship of Canterbury.

¹ Ep. iv. 8.

“ Moreover, to facilitate this arrangement, we brought his Lordship of Canterbury to the spot where the two Kings were reconciled ; and when we had delivered your Holiness’s letters commonitory to the King of England, and had pressed him on the subject as far as we judged expedient, we advised and counselled his Lordship of Canterbury to humble himself before his Majesty, and to endeavour to soften his rigour by a lowly deportment. His most Christian Majesty of France too, and the Archbishops and Bishops and great men who were there, pressed the same counsel on him.

“ When thus constrained by the King’s advice and that of the Archbishops, Bishops and Barons, the Archbishop acquiesced, and approaching the King of England in the face of the whole assembly, on bended knees devoted himself ‘ to God and the King, to God’s honour and the King’s,’ choosing this form of words for the sake of peace. The King, however, on account of the phrase ‘ to God’s honour,’ refused to receive him, ‘ lest,’ as he said, ‘ it should appear that the Archbishop wished to preserve the honour of God, and the King not.’ After much which he should have left unsaid, he declared ‘ that he wanted nothing more from the Archbishop than a promise, on the word of a Presbyter and a Bishop, that without subterfuge he would observe those Usages which the Holy Archbishops his predecessors had observed for their Kings, and to which he himself had on one occasion promised his consent.’ The Archbishop answered, ‘ that, in doing fealty to the King, he had already bound himself by oath to preserve for him life and limb, and earthly honour, *saving his own Order*: and all this he said he would faithfully abide by ; but that more than this had never been exacted from his predecessors, nor ought to be from any one.’ The King was very urgent on this head, and then his

Lordship of Canterbury added, ‘that although none of his predecessors had done this, nor was there any just reason why he should do it, yet, for the peace of the Church and for the King’s favour, he would promise to observe those Usages which his holy predecessors had observed for their Kings, *saving his Order*, and as far as his duty to God permitted : and that to regain the King’s love he would do anything in his power, *saving God’s honour*.’ He said too, ‘that he had never more willingly served the King than he would now do, if his services were accepted.’ The King would not listen to this, but insisted on his swearing to observe the Usages precisely and absolutely ; for that this was the only thing he wanted of him ; and to this the Archbishop, though many were urgent with him, would not consent. So the King departed without concluding a peace.

“ When we were urging the King to obey your Holiness’s Mandate by taking the Archbishop into favour, and restoring him his Church in peace, he replied, ‘that perhaps it will be the advice of his friends to restore him his Church, but that take him back into favour he never would ; for that then he should make void the privilege your Holiness has granted him, by which the Archbishop’s power is suspended till he is taken back into favour.’

“ And because it was your Holiness’s command, that in the first instance he should be warned in the spirit of meekness, through your letters of Communion, those of Commination we have reserved for a future time. Meanwhile we pray God, in whose hands are the hearts of Kings, to soften his mind, and effect peace, to his honour and the Church’s profit. The remainder of your instructions we hope by God’s grace to fulfil, when the time arrives, with all diligence ; and the success which God grants us shall be signified to your Majesty with due care.

“ Brother Bernard, when requested as well as ourself to send your Holiness an account of this business in writing, answered, that it was one of the vows of his Order not to write either to your Holiness, or to any other, on any subject whatsoever ; but that he would state the whole in the presence of M. Lombard, who had brought your letters to him, and who will faithfully relate the whole transaction, having been himself present and a party to it.”

A particular account of the Archbishop's behaviour during and after the conference has been preserved by Herbert de Boscham, himself an eyewitness, and other contemporary historians¹. From one of these we learn that the declaration of the King respecting his own claims, mentioned in John of Salisbury's letter, gave satisfaction to all present. There was a general exclamation that “ he had done enough in the way of humbling himself ;” and the King of France asked, “ whether, now that a peace was fairly offered, he meant to aim at being greater than all those holy men his predecessors.” On his refusing to admit this argument, or yield at all to the general feeling, the Nobles of both kingdoms present in great indignation declared “ that his arrogance was the only obstacle in the way of a reconciliation.” And one of them drew the summary conclusion, “ that, as the Archbishop had gone against the advice given him from both kingdoms, he could not expect for the future the countenance of either ; that the rejected of England should not be allowed a reception in France.”

¹ [Quadril. p. 95 & Seq.]

“It was late at night,” says Herbert de Boscham, “before the meeting broke up, and the two Monarchs took their departure on horseback in great haste, without staying even to salute the Archbishop. The King of England declared that that day had revenged him on the traitor. And his courtiers charged the Archbishop, even to his face, with pride, insolence, self-opiniatedness, and obstinacy; adding that it would soon prove the destruction of the Church that he had been appointed a ruler of it. The Archbishop put a guard upon his lips in the presence of the ungodly, and became as one who heard not, and in whose mouths were no reproofs. To one only, who spoke of the downfall of the Church, he replied quietly, ‘Brother, have a care lest thou bring the Church to a downfall; I, by God’s favour, never shall.’ This person was John, Bishop of Poitiers, an Englishman by birth, and a very old, dear, and tried friend of the Archbishop’s.”

“After this he withdrew with his suite, and followed the King of France to the Castle of Mountmirail, where the latter had taken up his lodging. The Archbishop himself had been entertained here hitherto, in abundance and state equal to that of the King himself, and had been waited on by the servants of the Court. The King, however, did not now feel disposed to see him, as his wont was; and it was conjectured that he was not so well inclined to him, as he had been the previous days. Nevertheless the Archbishop preserved his cheer-

fulness and gaiety externally, nor could the smallest change be detected in his countenance in consequence of what had happened.....On the morrow he left Mountmirail, and arrived the same day at Chartres. Along the road a number of persons came out, as usual, to see who was passing. When they were told it was the Archbishop, they pointed him out in turn to others, and a murmur went through them that ‘this was the Archbishop who in yesterday’s colloquy kept true to his God, and would not abate from His honour, in spite of the Kings.’ The same thing occurred afterwards several times, as he was travelling through France.”

His firm behaviour however, we are told, was not equally satisfactory to some of his suite, who were becoming tired of exile, and seemed to have their hopes of a return cut off by the conference terminating as it had. “On his returning from the colloquy,” says Fitz-Stephen, “the rider next before him was a certain Henry de Houghton, one of his Clerics. Henry’s horse stumbled once, and nearly fell; on which the rider, loud enough for the Archbishop to hear, tells it to ‘go on—Salvo honore Dei, et Sanctæ Ecclesiæ, et Ordinis mei.’ The Archbishop felt annoyed, but said nothing. A little while after the party stopped by the road side to give their horses rest and breathing time, when he said to them, ‘Most dear companions, you have shared my sufferings so long, how is it you are now turning against me, as your words show? Our return and re-instatement are little matters; not so

the liberty of the Church, about which the King says not a word. Well, be it so; I will make a peace on the best terms I can; but there never was so poor a fight made.' However afterwards they all of them came over to the Archbishop's opinion, acknowledged their mistake, applauded the resolute champion of God, and were confirmed in their affection for him."

"One day," (shortly after what has passed) says another historian¹, "the Archbishop and his suite were sitting in their lodgings, talking over the late events, and debating what they were to do. He himself was as cheerful as though nothing had happened, (indeed he was proof against all the assaults of Fortune) and returned the condolences of the party with quiet laughter and pleasantry. 'Be not so alarmed,' said he; 'the only one aimed at is myself; when I am disposed of they will not persecute you, not so seriously, at least.'" They assured him that he was the only one they were concerned for. "'Oh,' he replied, 'I commit myself to God's keeping, now that I am shut out of both kingdoms. I cannot betake myself again to those Roman robbers; they are always for despoiling the miserable. Let me see,—I have heard they are a more liberal people in Burgundy, toward Provence. I and one more will go there: perhaps, when they see us, they will take compassion on our forlorn condition, and give us subsistence for a time, till God inter-

¹ [Alan, in *Quadril.* p. 98.]

poses for us.' Immediately on his saying so, the mercy of God appeared at the very door. A messenger arrived to say that the King of France requested the presence of the Archbishop at Court. 'In order to expel us from the kingdom,' exclaimed one of the party. 'You are not a prophet,' said the Archbishop, 'or the son of a prophet; do not forebode evil.' They went accordingly."

"When they arrived the King was sitting and looking downcast: nor did he rise up, as his custom was, to meet the Archbishop. This was an ominous beginning. After a silence of a considerable time, the King bent his head down, as if he was reluctantly meditating the Archbishop's expulsion, and every one was in painful suspense, expecting the announcement, when all at once he sprang forward, and with sighs and tears, threw himself at the feet of the Archbishop, to the astonishment of the whole party. The Archbishop raised him up; and, when he had recovered himself, he said, 'O, my Lord, you were the only clear-sighted one among us. All of *us* were blind, and gave you advice repugnant to God's law. Yea, we surrendered God's honour to the pleasure of a man.' The Archbishop gave him absolution, and his blessing at parting; and he and his suite returned to Sens in great joy."

In the course of these journeys, or shortly after, he wrote to Henry on the subject of the late meeting, adverting especially to the new and unprecedented test, which the latter had been endeavouring to extort; and putting it to him again, whether

such an additional security were really needed ; when, as Archbishop, his loyalty was ensured by his oath of allegiance, and he himself was personally under obligation for so many favours received from his Majesty in times past. He wrote also to the Pope, condemning strongly the departure from the old form of oath.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, TO THE POPE¹.

“ Holy Father, we cannot believe that the King of England would have been suffered so long to abuse your patience, unless the malice of our adversaries had misled your Holiness respecting the cause of our exile. Now, however, by God’s grace, the truth is brought to light by our persecutor’s own testimony.

“ A short time since, when in all humility we prostrated ourself at his feet as a suppliant, he confessed in face of the most Christian King, the Archbishops, Bishops, Nobles, and all who were present, that what he requires from us is nothing else than a promise on our word as a Priest and Bishop, absolutely and precisely to observe those Usages which our predecessors observed for their Kings.

“ May it then please your Holiness to listen favourably to those who heard what passed ; and to administer speedy relief to the Church of England, which, unless God or your Holiness interferes for it, is now in extremes.....

“ Certain it is that, if the Usages he demands obtain force, the authority of the Apostolic See in England will either vanish altogether, or be reduced to a minimum : as indeed it would have been long since, if we may trust the memory of this generation and the writings of the past,

¹ Ep. iv. 12.

unless Princes had been checked by the Church of Canterbury.

“ Few there are, who have presided over that Church, and escaped the sword, or at least exile and proscription in the just cause. Marvellous therefore it is and astonishing, that one, whose persecuting acts are levelled rather at the Apostolic Majesty than at ourself, should in such a cause have found such support in your Holiness’s Court.

“ Your Holiness need now feel no apprehension lest he should join the Schismatics ; for the Lord has so humbled him at the hand of His servant the King of France, that he can never again recede from his allegiance.”

Nothing seems to have come either of the Envoys’ or the Archbishop’s communications with Henry ; and the former were obliged to enter on a further stage of their commission, and deliver their letters comminatory.

SIMON, PRIOR OF MONTDIEU, AND ENGELBERT, PRIOR
DU VAL DE ST. PIERRE, TO THE POPE¹.

“ According to your Holiness’s commands we laid your letters Commonitory before the illustrious King of England, and pressed him according to the tenor of the Communion to take back his Lordship of Canterbury into favour, and restore him his See in peace.

“ After this we waited long in the hope that God would soften his heart ; but at last, finding that our patience availed nothing, since your Holiness’s command was urgent, at the second conference of the Kings we presented to him your letters of Commination. These he was at

¹ Ep. iv. 10.

length prevailed on to receive, only by the urgent solicitation of ourselves and the great persons present ; and then he made answer as follows. After much which it is unnecessary to relate, he said, ‘ I never expelled his Lordship of Canterbury from my kingdom ; but nevertheless, out of deference to his Lordship the Pope, if the Archbishop will do for me what he ought, and observe those Usages which his predecessors observed for mine, as he has promised, he can return into England, and have peace there.’ Then, after putting his answer in various shapes, he told us he would convoke the Bishops of England and take their advice ; but he fixed no day, nor did we elicit any thing which could assure us that your Holiness’s Mandate would be attended to, or peace restored to his Lordship of Canterbury. On finding him shift his answers so frequently, we put the question to him directly, whether he would allow the Archbishop to return to his See and enjoy peace : and then he answered, ‘ that the Archbishop shall never enter England till he do what he ought, and promise to observe what others have observed, and what he promised formerly himself.’ We then requested him to put his answer in letters patent, with his signature ; for that your Holiness would expect us to bring him something definite, which as yet we had not obtained, as he so often shifted his answers. This however he refused.

“ The Archbishop, when we related this to him, replied, ‘ that he was ready to do for the King all he ought, and to observe all that his predecessors had observed, only *saving his Order* : but to undertake new obligations which were never imposed on his predecessors, or to make any promise of this kind, not saving his Order, was what he might not do without your Holiness’s permission : for that, in the first place, it was not safe to introduce new forms into the Church, and secondly, that he was prohibi-

ted by your Holiness from making any such promise, not saving God's honour and his Order.' He added too, that in reproving him you had said, 'that not even to save his life ought he to have bound himself to any such observances, not saving his Order. But that if the King, in compliance with your Holiness's Mandate, would restore him to favour and peace, and his Church and confiscated goods, then, under God, and saving his Order, he would gladly do his best to meet the King's wishes, and would serve him diligently and devotedly, with all his might.'

"May it then please your Holiness to succour your oppressed Church, and to persevere in the course you have so laudably begun. For if what we hear and believe is true, if you do so, peace and safety are at our doors.

"It is the rule of the brethren of Grammont to write to no one; but this is written with the consent and privity of Bernard, our brother and colleague. The same Bernard has himself borne witness to the truth in the presence of many, requesting those, who are at liberty, to write what he has related to them."

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, TO THE POPE¹.

"The riches of your Holiness's long-suffering, yea, the bounty of the Divine mercy, has as yet been requited by the King of England with contempt. Ignorant, or pretending to be so, that your Holiness's patience calls him to repentance, he turns a deaf ear to your entreaties and commonitions, and boasts, to the disgrace of the Apostolic See and the reproach of your Holiness's blessed name, that, persecute as atrociously as he pleases, yet, through your special indulgence, he has nothing to fear from our-

¹ Ep. iv. 6.

self and the Church of Canterbury : and to obtain credit for this incredible falsehood, he has hawked abroad through Germany, France, England and its adjacent Provinces, copies of those letters which your Holiness granted him to our prejudice ; would that it had not been to your own. Thus, as a return for your Holiness's good will, and in gratitude for your gentle dealings with him, his latter end waxes daily worse than his beginning.

“ Now, however, by God's will, that which your Holiness should have believed long since has been made evident in the sight of all men ; the true cause of our exile and proscription is now confessed, and the real drift of his whole policy. For, a short time since, at the second conference, in the hearing of his most Christian Majesty and of all present on both sides, after receiving your letters Commi-natory, which he had often rejected, and then scarcely accepted, he owned that what he requires at our hands is nothing else than the observance of his Usages, to which, as your Holiness has seen and may remember, God's law and the sacred Canons are evidently and altogether opposed.

“ At the instance of the most Christian King, and of the holy men whom your Holiness has sent, he was indeed prevailed on to drop the mention of Usages ; but he changed the word without changing his meaning ; requiring that we should promise, on the word of truth, simply and absolutely, to act as our predecessors had acted. This, as he said, was the only way for us to obtain our Church and peace in his dominions ; and even so that we should not have his favour ; which he added, because he conceives that by your Holiness's Rescript our authority is suspended till such time as his favour is restored us.

“ On this proposal being laid before us by the holy men, Simon, Prior of Montdieu, and F. Bernard, we answered, ‘ that we could not square our conscience by

the acts of our predecessors ; though indeed we know, from authentic documents, that some of them have suffered banishment in a like cause ; however, that we were prepared to yield him every service, even more than our predecessors had done, saving our Order ; but that new obligations, unknown to the Church, and such as our predecessors were never bound by, ought not to be undertaken by us ; first, because it was bad as a precedent ; secondly, because your Holiness's self, when in the city of Sens, absolved me from the observance of those Usages hateful to God and the Church, and from the pledge which force and fear had extorted from me, in a special manner ; and, after a grave rebuke, which, by God's grace, shall never pass from my mind, prohibited me from ever again obliging myself to any one in a like cause, except saving God's honour and my Order.' You added, too, if you are pleased to recollect, that not even to save his life should a Bishop oblige himself, except saving God's honour and his Order. For these reasons we made our promise to the holy men, 'that if the King would fulfil your Holiness's mandate, by restoring us his favour and peace, and our Church, and what he had taken from ourself and ours, then we would endeavour with our whole might, saving God's honour and our Order, to serve himself and his children ;' but stated, 'that, without authority from your Holiness, we might not make changes in a formula which the whole Western Church acknowledges, and which is expressed even in those very reprobate Usages for which we are banished. For there it is contained, that before consecration, Bishops elect shall swear fealty to the King concerning life and limb, and earthly honour, saving their Order.' Why is it then that we alone are to be compelled by this captious pledge, which is exacted from us, to drop all mention of

God's honour and the indemnity of our Order? What Christian ever made such a demand on Christian?

“He has eluded the solicitations of the holy men by shifting his answers, and, after much saying and unsaying, has left them, regretting the toils and expense which have availed nothing. He did indeed pretend that he would summon the English Bishops and consult them; but in reality what he is waiting for is the return of his Envoys from your Holiness. For, as I learn from those who may be credited, they boast that, as they did on a former occasion, they will obtain from your Holiness what the King desires, either by promises or threats. I cannot however believe, that the Apostolic See will compel any one to suppress God's honour, or prohibit his mentioning the safety of his Order. And truly if your Holiness dismisses them, as they deserve, you will re-establish Church liberty, and the fair fame of the Apostolic See. May it please you to deal manfully; for most undoubtedly, if it is your pleasure to put the wicked in fear, you will restore peace to the Church and a perishing soul to God. You have already seen what gentleness can effect; now essay the other method. In the severity of justice, you will most assuredly triumph. Exact what we have been despoiled of, yea to the last farthing. Let it not get abroad among our contemporaries and posterity, that such rapine has escaped unpunished, and thus embolden himself and his successors to repeat it. We have also to request most earnestly, that, if the malefactors whom we excommunicated venture into your Holiness's presence or send to you, that you will not absolve them to our prejudice. If this had not been done on a former occasion, the Church would have been at this day in the enjoyment of peace¹.

¹ [Referring to the Vezelay sentences, which the late Legates had tried to undo. This letter must have been written before the excommunications in the next chapter.]

“ If he succeeds in forcing this pledge on us, which God willing he shall not do, even if death were the alternative, (for we have not forgotten what we swore to the Church of Rome on the reception of our Pall) he will certainly oblige the whole Clergy in like manner on the strength of the example. Nor will other Princes find it hard to imitate his unchastised audacity.

“ What he exacts from us is not exacted in our country, either from the knights or peasants.”

So end the exertions of the present Embassy. The second conference, it appears, was only a repetition of the first ; the Archbishop still willing to advance a certain way, and acknowledge the Usages observed under his predecessors, only with a reserve, and the King insisting on a plenary admission of them, without a reserve. The Prior of Montdieu laments the failure of his mission in a letter to Cardinal Albert¹ ; in which he says that, according to the King's own confession, the liberty of the Church was the real barrier between him and the Archbishop ; and that so long as the latter set his face against Usages subversive of it, no reconciliation could take place between them. Becket himself writes to the same effect to William of Pavia, in order to induce him, if possible, on such clear and additional evidence to alter his views.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, TO WILLIAM OF
PAVIA².

“ Truth can be obscured, but not extinguished ; and light is more acceptable after darkness.

¹ Ep. iv. 11.

² Ep. iv. 26.

“Would that your Lordship had allowed yourself to believe from the first, what is now known to all by our persecutor’s own testimony : for lately, in the face of the most Christian King, the Archbishops, Bishops, Earls, Nobles, and all present, he publicly declared, that the only cause of our exile and proscription was our refusal to observe the Usages, which our predecessors had observed for his. He added too, that what he now requires of us is nothing else than a promise to do this, on our word of truth, simply and absolutely, i. e. without the clauses, ‘saving our Order,’ or ‘God’s honour,’ or any other provision to indemnify honour and conscience. And because we would not absolutely pledge ourselves to Usages, some of which void the authority of the Apostolic See and extinguish Church liberty, the King departed without concluding peace.

“We therefore entreat your kindness, not to be slack in undertaking the patronage of the Church of Canterbury and of justice ; but, as your goodness promised us on your departure, to stand up, as becomes an honest man, for the liberty of the Church and for ourself, and to oppose yourself to those who, it is certain, have always hitherto been opposed to justice and truth.

“Your Lordship may place full reliance in all that our Envoys may propose to you on our behalf.”

The issue of these proceedings displayed singular weakness and timidity on the part of the Roman Court. The Pope was pressed both by the Archbishop and his own Envoys to take severe measures ; mild ones having been tried and failed. Indeed, if the Embassy and Papal letters meant anything, and were not a mere feint and exhibition, no other course seemed left him. Those letters implied in their very

form an Interdict to follow if they were not obeyed ; and no obedience had been paid them, or even promised. Yet after all this preparation, the sentence of the Church slept, just as its forthcoming was announced ; and the whole business passed over without any results. An Embassy was despatched by the King, as appears from a preceding letter, immediately after the conferences had closed, to carry on the contest for him at Rome. And in spite of formal notices and warnings, which from time to time were directed against him, Henry, as we shall see, still managed to maintain his influence, and the Papal Court its equilibrium.

Meanwhile he was much disappointed with the King of France's speedy recall of Becket to favour, after the coolness which had arisen at the conference of Mountmirail. The Archbishop's situation in France, in the midst of persons friendly to himself and his cause, and under the countenance of a pious and liberal Monarch, he had along regarded with sore and angry feelings ; and the attack on the Cistercian body in the second year of the Archbishop's banishment, had been made with the very object of unsettling him in it. The design was one of policy, as well as of rivalry and imitation. His adversary was at present too favourably off, too much at liberty, too far out of reach. Being near to England too was an advantage to him, as it placed him in quicker and easier communication with his friends there, who gave him intelligence of all that passed. The apparent change

however of Louis's sentiments at the late conference had threatened for the time a withdrawal of these advantages ; and, though this disagreement was soon put an end to, Henry was either so much flattered by the changeableness which Louis had manifested, or so much irritated by the quiet termination of the affair itself, that he applied to the latter to withdraw again his favour from the Archbishop, and no longer allow him a residence in his dominions. But this was presuming far too much on that Prince's feeling of honour and friendship for his guest. Louis returned a simple answer, that exiles in the cause of justice had always met with protection from his family, and that he did not intend departing from so good a precedent.

This attempt having failed, the old plan of a translation was revived. The King's Envoys at Rome were instructed to urge the removal of the Archbishop to some other See ; but the Pope was again firm on this point. Then the idea of a summons to Italy was started, as a mode of banishing him from France ; and the King of Sicily, and several of the Italian republics, influenced by Henry's gold, or bound to him by political arrangements, joined in this petition to the Pope¹.

¹ [“Quia legem Dei transferre nolumus, quærit ut nos, *ad aliam Ecclesiam transferamur*. Quia vero vocantem ad iniquitatis consortium sequi nolumus, petit *nos evocari a vobis*, ut in transitu possit nostri sanguinis cum iniquitatis suæ consortibus quaecumque exercere commercium. Quid enim aliud sibi vult, quod Mediolanenses, Cremonenses, et Parmenses in exterminium nostrum mercede corruptos sollicitat ? Quid Papi-

Henry was now obviously becoming tired of a contest, which held on year after year without any advance being made by either side, or seeming likely to be made. A growing impatience is perceptible as we advance in the history, in the overt acts both of himself and his party; which ends in an endeavour of the same kind with those that have been just mentioned. And on that last occasion, we do find the Archbishop fairly removed, and got possession of. Becket himself, in the meantime, was not slow in perceiving the spirit in which these attempts to gain his translation and removal were made. "It is plain," he says in a letter to the Bishop of Ostia, "what a safe convoy, a pleasant outfit, the attention of the man has provided for us." Henry, it would seem, had offered to convey him to his place of destination. "He has not taken steps to supply either the demands of our creditors, or the travelling expences of ourself and companions, if any one can be found to go with us, or the wants of our poor fellow-exiles whom we are to leave behind. Perhaps the same attention on the part of those who have so managed matters (for I would not mention the King's name in connexion with such a suspicion) may put poison into our dishes. It is difficult to feel one's self quite safe, when the master of our establishment is the wily adversary himself. In short, not to waste paper or

ensibus aut aliis Italiæ civitatibus nocuimus unquam, ut nostrum exilium procurarent? In quo læsimus Sapientes Bononiæ?" Ep. iii. 79.]

writing any more on this subject, I am not going to expose myself to such risks, to please any one. If a man, for whatever cause, is inclined to part with his life, a sword or a rope is the readier way." He is writing to a friend here, and not in a tone of absolute seriousness; but such language nevertheless is worth noticing, as indicating what idea the writer had of the present tendency of affairs: that he evidently saw the most unfavourable intentions forming and strengthening in the minds of his opponents, and the contest becoming more grave and formidable than ever.

CHAPTER XVI.

EXCOMMUNICATION OF THE BISHOP OF LONDON.

A FEW weeks brought the Archbishop a removal of his Suspension, which, according to the Pope's letters, was fixed to last only to the beginning of Lent ; and the King's party now again felt themselves in danger of ecclesiastical punishment. This was the old weapon which had been suspended over them from the commencement of the contest ; but which they had contrived in different ways to blunt or evade ; always screening themselves by some temporary manœuvre from the Archbishop's spiritual power, and, when one guard was in course of time withdrawn from them, putting up another in its place. First we have an Appeal ; then a Legatine Commission ; then another Appeal ; and after that a Suspension. Once more however the field is left open, and the Archbishop's opponents have to look out for some method of self-defence. Accordingly no sooner had Lent commenced, than the Bishop of London set up another Appeal ; this especially being a resource always open to those

who were disposed to make use of it and had nothing else to fall back upon. The repetition of it here however, after such large and immoderate use of it throughout the contest, is certainly a proof of a determined and somewhat shameless spirit in the opposition of that Bishop and his party.

This Appeal just anticipated a sentence of Excommunication, which the Archbishop had long ago resolved on issuing the very first opportunity. Foliot was specially singled out as the chief mover and fomentor of the whole dispute; no general interdict on the kingdom being in contemplation at present, though Becket never altogether lost sight of that intention. Foliot, indeed, so far as the Archbishop's will and endeavour went, had been excommunicate almost from the first; his only protection having been, that the difficulty, under existing circumstances, of passing a sentence through those forms which required a positive communication with the offender, had interfered in his favour, and left his sentence open to objections as to its complete and formal validity. The Archbishop seems to have been going to excommunicate him in 1166, about the time of the Vezelay sentences¹: and the following year, as soon as the appeal of the Bishops had expired, he did so, but not in a way that the other party acknowledged². And he him-

¹ [Note p. 154. He could not have been actually excommunicated at this time; as, in that case, the orders for the enforcement of the Vezelay sentences, &c., would not have been sent to him to execute.]

² [p. 254.]

self afterwards, at the request of the Cardinals, had consented to overlook the matter for a time. Nothing however occurred in the interval to modify the old grounds of complaint; and the Bishop was therefore now more an object of censure than ever. In the manuscript account¹ of the dispute which afterwards took place, as to the validity in point of law, of the particular excommunication to which we now are coming, we have all the Archbishop's reasons and motives, for passing the sentence, given. He there states that the Bishop of London had in the first place² taken part against him in the Council of London, and that, this opposition having established him in the King's favour, he had become from that time forward his Majesty's intimate and

¹ [In the Cave MS.]

² [The Archbishop charges him with an earlier offence elsewhere, viz. with having encouraged the Archbishop of York to set up the claim respecting the cross. (p. 69.) “*Fratri, et amico nostro Eboracensi assistens,—quosdam de fratribus nostris exquisitâ calliditate circumvenit, ut Domino Papæ scriberent, quatenus ei liceret crucem Salutiferæ crucis æmulam per provinciam nostram deferre.*” Ep. iii. 17. Becket always speaks of him as the first mover and leader of the contest. “*Horum incentor et signifer exstitit ab initio Londoniensis ille, qui primus scidit Anglicanæ Ecclesiæ unitatem. Regis et Officialium suorum animos armavit et manus.*” Ibid. In another letter: “*Ab ejus consilio dependent tam Saresberiensis Episcopus, quam Randulphus de Broc, qui Cantuariensi Ecclesiæ incubat, et alii depopulatores nostri.*” Ep. iii. 75. All the letters written up from France on this occasion, and afterwards on the subject of Foliot's attack on the See of Canterbury, speak exactly this language. Thus the Bishop of Noyon—“*Horum Signifer est Londoniensis ille, qui diu vulpem ementita ove subornans, latenter in manibus ferebat ignem et gladium.*” The Archbishop of Sens—“*Author Schismatis et incentor.*”]

confidential adviser : that this intimacy implicated him, tacitly at least, in the whole course of policy which the King had pursued afterwards : and that he had committed himself moreover by some overt and definite acts against his Metropolitan, having neglected to give force to the excommunications pronounced at Vezelay¹, and having headed a party among the Bishops in making an appeal for the King in order to protect him from a sentence impending over him for notorious and long unpunished offences².

The Bishop on the other hand admitted the charges, as facts ; but denied that any real blame attached to him in consequence. He alleged that in the part he had taken at the Council of London and afterwards, he had been moved only by a wise regard to circumstances, and the spirit of the times, and that on some occasions he had not hesitated to remonstrate with the King : that the

¹ [Besides this, he had neglected another order of the same date (i. 121), for restoring to the exiled party their benefices, together with the proceeds from them which he had been in receipt of during their absence : which order had been given earlier, in the Archbishop's answer to the letter of appeal, p. 187. Foliot in reply only complained of the severity of his treatment (p. 188), and handed over the revenues to the King ; which was no fulfilment of the command. The appeal of 1167 however shielded him from the Archbishop's censures.]

² [In his letter to the Pope he mentions some more recent proceedings of Foliot, i. e. during the last half year : ' Ille ex quo audivit, quod debitam animadvertendi in malefactores Ecclesiæ mihi vestra gratia restituerat, statim *per se et complices suos commovit et conturbavit terram*. Neque id in occulto sed passim : et quo manifestior esset ejus iniquitas, *Londoniæ in celeberrimo loco, ubi ad ratiocinia publica tractanda totius regni officiales convenerant*." Ep. iii. 75.]

same reason had qualified his deference to the sentences of Vezelay; which sentences however he had partially carried into effect: and that the Appeal was the act, not of himself personally, but of the collective Church¹.

The facts which these charges and these admissions imply, are no more than what have already appeared in the course of this history, and do not require being dwelt upon, otherwise than as they supply a summary of the Archbishop's reasons for the long-delayed excommunication—Foliot, as has already appeared, received a hint of the storm there was impending; the result of which was the following letter addressed to another Bishop, in the same predicament with himself.

THE BISHOP OF LONDON, TO THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY².
ABOUT THE BEGINNING OF LENT, i. e. FEB. 26.

“ Venerabili Domino Frati que carissimo Jocelino Saresberiensis, Dei gratia, Episcopo, Frater Gilebertus Londoniensis Ecclesiæ Minister, salutem.

“ Amidst the many favours which his Lordship of Canterbury destines for the Commonwealth of this Realm, he

¹ [Toward the end of the argument the Archbishop charges the Bishop with violations of discipline in the government of his Diocese, in having overlooked cases of immorality in his Clergy, and having ordained the sons of Priests, in spite of the Canon to the contrary. Foliot denied the former charge, and with respect to the ordination of the sons of Priests, affirmed, that though strictly speaking irregular, it could not be wholly prevented; but that this was a matter for his Archdeacons, not himself, to attend to; and that they were responsible.]

² Cave MS., l. 115, p. 155.

is said to have reserved some in particular for you and me; singling us out especially as a mark for his arrows.

“It is said that he has just issued forth new citations, summoning us two by name to appear before him in France: and that he threatens and protests in public to pass sentence of excommunication against us, unless we make all haste to attend his presence.

“For my own part, as I consider myself much aggrieved in this matter, I have publicly appealed to the Apostolic See, as I intend to inform his Lordship of Canterbury by letter, and by a special messenger, one of my Clerics, who, God willing, is to set out next Friday. I have been careful to certify your Lordship of this intention, that, if you decide on adopting the same course, the Cleric whom you depute may be able to make his journey with mine, to their mutual comfort and advantage.

“If your Lordship has received more definite information on this subject, will you have the goodness to send me notice to London? I shall be there from the Friday of this week till the Wednesday of the next.

“Farewell.”

An appeal to the Pope accordingly follows, which is notified by letter to the Archbishop.

THE BISHOP OF LONDON, TO THE POPE¹.

“My Lord, whereas the past deeds of his Lordship our Father, the Archbishop of Canterbury, teach me to look for no other treatment at his hands than the extreme rigours of unmerited severity, I have at the commencement of this present Lent appealed to the clemency of your Holiness, appointing for the day of appeal the Octaves of

¹ Ep. i. 125.

the Purification of the Blessed Virgin; thus sheltering myself under your Holiness's protection, against the unjust wrath of him that persecutes me, and by the interposition of your Holiness's name, frustrating the unjust schemes devised against me, until the day appointed for taking cognizance of the same before your Holiness.

"Wherefore, O Father, beloved in the Lord, I prostrate my whole soul and spirit before your holy Wisdom, beseeching you not to refuse to my necessities that remedy which has been provided in common for the oppressed, nor to cast me off as reprobate from the protection of your guardianship: but that you will graciously receive my appeal, and, if any sentence is irregularly passed against me, that you will hold the same for null and ineffectual until the day when, God willing, I am prepared to present myself before your Mightiness, to abide the sentence which may there be decreed against me, condemnation if I am guilty, or, if I may appear to be innocent, absolution.

"My crime, if crime it be, is only this, that being bowed down under the pressure of certain Mandates¹, where compliance must have plunged me in utter wretchedness, I dared to withdraw from them by appealing to your Holiness, that I might in all things commit myself to your Holiness's guidance, and either on your instructions depart from the kingdom, or obtain such an alleviation of these burdens as might enable me to remain in it. For, to state the truth in a short compass, such are the relations existing between his Lordship the King and his Lordship of Canterbury, that it is impossible for me, or any other in this realm, to comply with the instructions of the latter (who is simply one of the Bishops of this country) without at the same time incurring the insupportable displeasure of

¹ [Those viz. for enforcing the excommunications of Vezelay, &c.]

the former. May it then please your Fatherly consideration, that, if after the interposition of this appeal to your Highness, any sentence premature or preposterous should be passed against myself, who have neither confessed, nor been convicted, nor yet cited, nor in any way admonished¹, then, as is just, you will pronounce it ineffectual.

“May the Lord preserve your Holiness in safety to long days, O Father, most dearly beloved in Jesus Christ.”

THE BISHOP OF LONDON, TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF
CANTERBURY².

“His Lordship of Salisbury and myself, O Father, and the rest of our brethren, on a survey of your past and acknowledged conduct, entertaining no unmerited suspicion of your intended severity, have feared lest against our Lord the King and his realm, or against ourselves the Suffragan Bishops of the Church of Canterbury, or against the Churches committed to our care, you should think fit to pass sentence of Curse or Interdict, and we the while, undefended and yet most ready to abide by law, be involved in the evils thereupon ensuing. The which to place in some degree beyond your Lordship’s powers, we have, at the commencement of Lent, appealed to the clemency of our Lord the Pope, appointing as the day of appeal the Octaves of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin³.

¹ [Foliot, as he knew that the Archbishop was going to excommunicate him, of course knew that he wished to *cite* him, and that the citatory letters were probably at this very time in the hands of messengers, who had not delivered them, only because they were not allowed to enter the King’s ports. It does not occur to him that this knowledge at all binds him, in point of conscience, to consider himself cited.]

² Ep. i. cxxiv.

³ Feb. 9.

“ We are careful to certify your Lordship of the same by the present Instrument, that, in case your Lordship has any thing against us, which you may be pleased to prosecute judicially in the presence of his Holiness, God willing, we may be enabled to make answer to the same, and in all things humbly and most devotedly to abide his Holiness’s sentence.

“ May God avert His anger from these realms, and wind up the measures your Lordship devises, with a conclusion you hope not for.”

An appeal however for once was no protection ; for the Archbishop’s resolution was fixed. On Palm Sunday, the last in Lent, he pronounced sentence of excommunication on the Bishops of London and Salisbury ; joining with them some of the Nobility¹ who had been the most forward in attacking the property of the Church during his absence. Notice was given at the same time that a like sentence would inevitably descend upon certain others², unless they speedily made satisfaction to the Church for their past conduct.

The Archbishop sent the Pope an account of his proceedings, and wrote to his supporters among the Cardinals at the same time, to secure their assis-

¹ [Hugo, Earl of Norfolk, Ralph de Broc, Thomas Fitzbernard, Hugh St. Clair, Nigel de Sacville, Richard de Basting, Robert de Broc a Cleric, Letard de Norflece a Cleric. Ep. iii. 43.]

² [Godfrey Archdeacon of Canterbury, Robert his Deputy, Richard de Welcester, Richard de Luci, Wimar Giffard, Adam de Chere. Ascension-day was given out for their excommunication.]

tance¹. In which endeavour he was aided as usual by his old friends in France; and the Archbishop of Sens² in particular, who, as on a former occasion, conveyed to the Pope his own sentiments, and those of Louis; and begged that the scandal of John of Oxford's triumph might not be renewed.

In the mean time Foliot's excommunication had not yet taken effect, but was waiting to be formally notified to him. His friends however began to exert themselves in his favour, as appears from the following letter to the Pope³.

THE ABBOT OF READING, TO THE POPE⁴.
BEFORE PENTECOST.

“Beatissimo Domino et Patri Alexandro Ecclesiæ Catholice, Dei gratia, Summo Pontifici, filiorum suorum extremus frater Willielmus, Abbas Redingensis indigne dictus: commissam sibi navem Petri ad portum tranquillitatis indemne dirigere.

“ Since it is highly expedient that your Holiness, who, under God, are head of the Universal Church, should know the exact truth in such matters as are of your cogni-

¹ [Ep. iii. 75, to the Pope. 74, to Gratian. 76, to Cardinals Albert and Theobald. 79, to Humbald, Bishop of Ostia. 84, to Hugh, Cardinal of Bologna. He writes to opponents also: to the Cardinal of St. John and St. Paul, who, he is pleased to hear, is changing his sentiments (83), and to William of Pavia (81), reminding him of his promise of support to the King of France.]

² Ep. iii. 78.

³ [There are letters to the same effect too, from the Abbot of Westminster (iii. 50), and the Abbot of Ramesay (iii. 51), to the Pope.]

⁴ Cave MS. p. 277, l. 285.

zance; for this cause, insignificant as I am, I venture to address your Sublime greatness, in behalf of your son the Bishop of London, lest perchance any ill suggestion should cloud his reputation in your eye-sight; and to inform your Holiness of his character, such as it is known to me, and of the happy prudence with which he has conducted himself throughout this contest between the Archbishop and the King.

“And in the first place I know that, when in the Cloister of Clugni he first took the religious habit, his holy and blameless conversation proved him worthy of promotion and pre-eminence; subsequently that the successive steps of his advancement have been procured by his learning and integrity of life: and that, since he has attained the rank of Bishop, he has uniformly exhibited, at least to human judgment, a blameless and useful servant of the Church: to himself frugal and severe, to others merciful and liberal. Of the sobriety of his food and raiment, the scanty range of his wants, his bounty to the poor, his gentleness to his inferiors, his devotion to his friends, his upright and urbane deportment towards every one, I think it needless to speak at length: for the sweet savour of these things has filled the Church of God; and by all good and pious men they are unceasingly spoken of. Those who witness them may refuse to observe, they cannot deny them.

“But in the present controversy, which has arisen between our Lord the King and his Lordship the Archbishop, I know well that he has so conducted himself that, if his advice and example had been followed, the whole dispute would long ago have been happily terminated: though I am aware that some enemies of peace, led on by their ill feelings, have disseminated another opinion with respect to him, and infused it into the Archbishop. I my-

self have never heard, nor am I acquainted with any one who has heard, that he has ever been the means of prejudicing the King against the Archbishop, excepting this one thing, that under the pressure of necessity he appealed at the commencement of Lent to your Holiness's clemency.

“ The Archbishop however, it is said, promulgated against him on Palm Sunday, a sentence of excommunication. At which deed of his all persons in these parts greatly wonder. For an appeal to the Apostolic See has been wont to secure protection for the oppressed: and this boon has been heretofore conceded by our Mother, the Church of Rome, to all her sons in their distresses, lest any should be driven to despair: but if it is to be withdrawn or rendered vain, it seems no farther refuge can be hoped for.

“ Wherefore most Holy Father, we beseech your Blessedness (whom God long preserve) so to bear yourself towards your son, the Bishop of London, who now throws himself upon your Fatherly goodness, that your other sons likewise may have hope, and fly to you in the day of their necessity.”

There is a letter too of condolence and advice to the Bishop, from a relation, Robert Foliot, which the former answers.

ROBERT FOLIOT, ARCHDEACON OF OXFORD, TO GILBERT,
BISHOP OF LONDON¹.

“ My own mind cannot rest for thinking of the disquietude of your Lordship's. Yet it is no small consolation

¹ C. M. p. 363, l. 386. Written before the delivery of the sentence.

to me to think, that in all that has passed I can recollect no act of your Lordship's to merit it.

“ If this is so, your Lordship should now set forth an example of patience so much the brighter, in that you have the support of conscious innocence : and what if your outward man is buffeted by the perturbations of this world, he that is within should be renewed from day to day ; learning, as formerly, in prosperity moderation, so now patience in adversity. For it is written, ‘ Tribulation worketh patience, patience experience, experience hope.’ Wherefore in all these things my hope is, that, in consideration at once of your innocence and your humble patience, God, who resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble, will soon deliver you from the hands of your persecutors. .

“ To this end I implore Almighty God unceasingly, that no stain or spot of indignation, finding its way into your soul, may obstruct the clear sight of your accustomed wisdom, or sully your hitherto pure conscience with the guilt of contumacy. It is good to be humbled that we may be more exalted : humility conciliates the favour of our great Judge, and brings to nought the counsels of the wicked. Joseph was humbled in prison and in chains, but afterwards by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit was made governor over all the land of Egypt, and had worship of those that sold his blood. David was humbled at the chiding of the Prophet ; yet afterwards he pleased God, and obtained himself the gift of Prophecy. Maria was humbled before the oracle of the Heavenly Annunciation, and was thought worthy of being over-shadowed by the Holy Ghost, and becoming the mother of the Most High. Even the Lord Jesus Christ humbled Himself, and for that reason God hath highly exalted him, and given him a Name which is above every name.

“ If therefore it should so happen, that the sentence which has been passed against your Lordship is even formally denounced to you, I entreat you to be most especially circumspect, and to avoid the slightest appearance of a proud and contumelious bearing. I say not this as though I thought myself capable of instructing your Lordship, whom I know to be so well versed in all the niceties of the Canon Law affecting these points. But for the love I bear your Lordship I cannot refrain from recommending you, now while there is yet time, to take steps which by and by might require a greater effort.

“ I fear that what has been done may be sanctioned by greater authority than you are aware of. And yet I cannot suppose that the Rock of Christ’s Church is yet so utterly subverted, that the Canons of the Apostles are to be broken through by their representative; nay the very Order appointed and consecrated by the Lord profaned by the audacity of human innovation: whereas the Lord has said, ‘ The servant is not greater than his master, nor the Apostle greater than Him that sent him.’ So that I cannot persuade myself that even the most insignificant member of the Church, much less an Orthodox Bishop, unadmonished, uncited, unheard in his own defence, in no way contumacious, nor open to any charge of notorious crime, should be cut off from the body of Christ, under the sanction of his Holiness.

“ God Almighty strengthen your heart with the spirit of wisdom; and guard all your actions with the spirit of counsel and fortitude; that you may be enabled to resist all the assaults of temptation, at once prudently and manfully. I for my part, a creature of your Lordship’s hand, am ready to devote my fortunes and myself to your service.

“ May my Lord fare well in Christ.”

THE BISHOP OF LONDON, TO ROBERT FOLIOT, ARCH-
DEACON OF OXFORD¹.

“Gilebertus, Dei gratia, Londoniensis Episcopus carissimo suo R. Oxoniensi Archidiacono, multiplicem ex accepta consolatione gratiarum actionem.

“Borne down, as I am, with a weight of care, I have little answer to return to my friend, except indeed the saying of the Prophet, which I have so often repeated, and now feel in the bitterness of my spirit: ‘My confusion is daily before me; the shame of my face hath covered me.’ I am become a spectacle to the world and to men; for the enemy hath afflicted me mightily. The Lord hath laid his hand upon me, He hath lifted me up and cast me down. What adds to the weight of my misery is, that I know not where to look or hope for relief. The sea is closed to me, and all the ports close guarded against every one². To dwell among my friends and acquaintance is death to me; to remove myself from them is impossible.

“For this reason I have sent in all haste to his Lordship the King, to obtain licence for crossing the water, and making my way to his Holiness; that if possible I may make good my cause before him, or, if not, I may prevail on him to heal the wound that has been inflicted on me. But above all things I am most anxious for your society, and entreat you to visit me at London the Saturday after Pentecost. I wish to hear your advice and that of my other brethren as to the course of conduct I had best pursue.

“Farewell, most dearly beloved.”

¹ C. M. p. 365, l. 389.

² [To prevent the passage of messengers to and from the Pope and Archbishop. This is one of the charges brought against the persons excommunicated above; viz. that “ope vel consilio Domini Regis, nuncios Domini Papæ et nostros, ne prosequantur Ecclesiæ necessitates, impediunt.”]

Foliot accompanied his request to the King with an entreaty for assistance in his difficulties ; which the latter of course readily promised, and wrote immediately to the Pope in his favour.

THE BISHOP OF LONDON, TO THE KING¹.

“ Domino suo carissimo Illustri Anglorum Regi, Frater Gilebertus Londoniensis Ecclesiæ minister, salutem et debitum devotæ fidelitatis obsequium.

“ We send to your Lordship one of our Clerics, M. H——, a faithful subject of your Majesty’s ; supplicating your Majesty with all possible earnestness, that it may please you to give him audience in the matter of our petitions, and to assist us with your royal clemency in this our necessity.

“ This your Majesty may do by writing to his Lordship the Pope somewhat earnestly in our behalf, that, as the rules of equity require, he will admit our present appeal ; and that this sentence, which has been passed against us while an appeal was pending, may, as it can and ought, be suspended until such time as his Holiness has heard our cause, and decided on its merits. Also, if it pleases your Majesty, it might be well to write to the Cardinals in your Majesty’s interest to influence his Lordship the Pope for this purpose ; that at your Majesty’s request they may procure for us in the admission of our appeal a benefit, which is the common right of the oppressed. For there is a decree of Pope Sixtus : ‘ Quoties Episcopus se a suo Metropolitano senserit prægravari, vel eum suspectum habuerit, mox Romanam appellet Sedem, a qua dum se audiri poposcerit, nullus eum excommunicet antequam

¹ C. M. p. 362, l. 386. Ep. iii. 46.

causa summi Pontificis auctoritate firmatur. Quod si aliter præsumptum fuerit, nil erit, sed viribus omnino carebit.’

“Moreover, as our need of conversing and consulting with your Majesty is frequent and urgent, we most devoutly entreat your Excellency to grant us licence to cross the sea, and that you will permit us to remain on the other side till the return of the messengers we have despatched to his Lordship the Pope.

“May Almighty God long preserve your Majesty in health and prosperity.”

THE KING, TO THE BISHOP OF LONDON¹.

“I have heard of the grievance which that traitor, Thomas, my adversary, has inflicted on you and other Dignitaries of my realm; nor am I less indignant at this outrage in your case, than if he had vomited out his poison against myself. Be assured I shall use all my influence with his Lordship the Pope and the King of France, and all my friends among the Cardinals, that he may be disabled from doing ourself or our realm any further injury.

“In the mean time, it is my will and advice that you admit no disquietude into your mind, but that you act like a man in your own behalf: and that you either remain in England, or come to me in Normandy, as you shall judge best for you and myself. I leave this entirely to your own discretion. Be assured that if you come to me and wish to proceed to Rome, I will provide you sufficiently and honourably with all necessaries for the journey at my own cost.

“Teste G—— Clerico apud S. Macharium², in Guasconia.”

¹ Ep. iii. 47.

² S. Macaire, a town on the north bank of the Garonne, about thirty miles above Bordeaux.

THE KING, TO THE POPE¹.

“ Your serene greatness is sufficiently aware of the injuries with which I and my realms are molested by Thomas of Canterbury, my adversary. Nor can it, I conceive, have escaped your Holiness’s memory, that I procured from your Fatherly consideration a judicial commission for two Cardinals of the Holy Church of Rome, who were to take cognizance of this cause ; but that it pleased your Holiness to exempt my adversary from their jurisdiction, and that the just cause was thus prevented from coming to light. Often and always have I professed my willingness to stand by the judgment of the Church, and, if in any thing I have done amiss, which I do not recollect, to make satisfaction. Very different was the treatment dealt to the Church of Canterbury by my ancestors. Wherefore I cannot adequately marvel, that your Wisdom should hand over to what I consider most injurious molestation, a devoted son of the Church of Rome, ever ready to submit to justice.

“ And now he, who desists not to afflict the innocent, has added a fresh injury to the multitudes that preceded it. Supported, as he says, by your Holiness’s authority, he has just now excommunicated the Bishops of London and Salisbury unconvicted, uncited, unadmonished, and while an appeal was pending ; and to several of my friends he holds out a threat of the same treatment, without any reasonable provocation. At all this I am not less indignant than if I had been the object of his sentence myself.

“ It seems to me that your Fatherly goodness has, as it were, cast me off, that you have ceased to regard the sufferings of your son, and will permit my wicked adversary

¹ Ep. iii. 48.

to march against me as he pleases. And now I beseech and adjure your Mightiness, to show towards me that consideration which a son may claim, and that you will condescend without delay to rectify all illegal proceedings against myself, my Nobles, and my territory. Moreover, with all devotion I most earnestly entreat, that, whatever measures the above-named Thomas, my adversary, adopts against the Dignitaries of my kingdom, Clergy and Laity, against the course of justice, and while an appeal is pending, you will hold the same for null and ineffectual.

“Teste G—— Val—— Episcopo apud S. Macharium in Guasconia¹.”

It was nearly two months after the passing of the sentence before the messenger, employed to deliver the notice of it, was able to get at the excommunicated party. The manner and circumstances of the delivery, which are striking, as well as its reception by the Bishop, are described in a letter from one of the Archbishop's friends in England. The following is the notice itself.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, TO THE BISHOP OF
LONDON². APRIL 13.

“*Thomas, Dei gratia, Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus, et Apostolicæ Sedis Legatus, Gileberto, Londoniensi Episcopo, utinam vero fratri, declinare a malo et facere bonum.*

“Your Lordship's Wisdom would have done well to

¹ [The Archdeacon of Llandaff met this letter on his return from his former embassy, and went back with it to Rome. Ep. iii. 5. “Cum postmodum itinerantibus innotuisset hanc latam esse sententiam, remissus est ad Dominum Papam Randulphus Archidiaconus Landavensis.”]

² Ep. iii. 40.

bear in mind the affection with which you have always been regarded by the Church of Canterbury, and the pains with which it has laboured to conciliate to you the favour of the Apostolic See, not less intent on your Lordship's honour and interest than on its own.

“ But your Lordship, on receiving the power of inflicting injury, has raised your heel at once against both, and that so much the more effectually, inasmuch as evil was less looked for at your hands. Many times have we warned your Lordship of your ways : would that the wholesome words of counsel and exhortation had answered other purpose than to harden and inflate you ! Your Lordship has received orders from the chief High Priest, that you labour with all diligence for the peace of the Church, whereas it is notorious that you have been the chief fomentor of its troubles : nor would your ample disservices have so long evaded condemnation, but that the Apostolic See endured in much long-suffering and loving-kindness. As for ourself, though much aggrieved, we have nevertheless repressed our sense of your misconduct, till in the eyes of all wise men, who have a zeal of justice, our patience has been already deemed excessive. But now, because your latter end waxes daily worse than your beginning, and that we on our part may not lawfully dissemble longer, we have for manifest and just causes, until such time as you make worthy satisfaction, cut you off as a rotten branch, from the Body of Christ's Church.

“ We command you, therefore, by virtue of your allegiance, at the peril of your rank and order, and as you value your salvation, that, as the forms of the Church prescribe, you abstain henceforth from all communion with the faithful, lest you contaminate to its ruin the Lord's flock, which should have been instructed by your learning and formed by your example.”

M. WILLIAM, TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY¹.

SATURDAY AFTER ASCENSION-DAY, MAY 31.

“ Thomæ, Dei gratia, Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo, Apostolicæ Sedis Legato, M. Willielmus filius Richardi Bonhart, nihil infra posse, sed et supra.

“ Ut desint vires, tamen est laudanda voluntas,

“ Hac quoque contentos auguror esse Deos.

“ Busy ears hate long stories, yet your Lordship will think it worth hearing, how on Ascension-day last Berenger delivered your letters safely in the Church of St. Paul.

“ When the Gospel was over he walked straight up to the Altar, and, as the Priest, whose name was Vitalis, put forth his hand expecting to receive an oblation, he thrust into it your Lordship's letters, seizing it firmly at the same moment, and charging him in the Pope's name, and your Lordship's, to deliver one to the Bishop and the other to the Dean, and forbidding him to celebrate Mass till they had been read. I was standing close by and saw this. He then called to William of Northall², who read the Gospel on Ascension-day, and a Subdeacon, by name Hog, to witness what he had done, charging them likewise not to assist at Mass, till the letters had been read.

“ After this Berenger turned round to the people, and cried out with a loud voice, ‘ Know all of you, that Gilbert, Bishop of London, is excommunicated by Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury and Legate of the Apostolic See.’

“ Immediately there was an uproar, and many wished

¹ Ep. iii. 41.

² A person of this name was appointed Bishop of Worcester in 1186, at which time he was Archdeacon of Gloucester. (Godwyn.) Letter 245, in the collection of John of Salisbury, Bib. vet. Pat. is addressed to him.

to seize him ; but, as the people were rushing out in multitudes, I covered him with my cloak, and having escaped from the Church, conducted him to my house, from which he had gone. To this fact I have the following witnesses : Berenger himself, Richard nephew of William the Chaplain, and the son of William Wannoc.

“ The Priest did not dare to celebrate Mass in the face of your prohibition, nor William of Northall to assist. William told what had passed to Nicholas, the Archdeacon ; who said, ‘ Would the Priest have left off eating, if he had been charged to leave off in the Archbishop’s name ? ’ I hear they celebrated Mass without reading the letters, except in private.

“ When this took place the Bishop himself was at ———¹, but on hearing it he immediately sent out to convoke the London Clergy for the Saturday after Ascension-day, when, after much previous conversation between the Bishop, the Dean, Archdeacon, and Canons, they at last took their seats : then, by the Bishop’s order, the Priest Vitalis, who was there with the letters, related in order what had passed, and delivered them to the Bishop and Dean respectively. The Bishop knitting his brows together, and with a voice almost choking, read them out ; and then, in the presence of all, attacked the Sentence under the following heads.

“ The first head he took from the Old Testament : ‘ Adam sinned in Paradise : God did not sentence him at once, but suffered him to depart : then cited him, saying, ‘ Adam : ’ then rebuked him, saying, ‘ Where art thou ? ’ ’

“ The next from the New Testament : ‘ It is said to Peter in the Gospel, ‘ If thy brother sin against thee, rebuke him in private : ’ afterwards, ‘ before two or three : ’ thirdly, ‘ tell it to the Church : ’ then, lastly, reckon him

¹ Stubbehubæ.

incorrigible, 'let him be unto thee as a heathen and a publican.'

"Also he said, 'It will not do for the Archbishop to say, 'I could not cite the Bishop of London;' it appears he could: if he could do the greater, i. e. excommunicate, he could do the less, i. e. cite.'

"Also he said, 'Not to be appealed from, is the privilege only of the Pope. I am safe therefore by my appeal; and in the Sacred Name of the most Holy Trinity, I dash this deed of his to pieces against the rock on which the Church is founded.'

"Also he said, 'In all criminal cases four persons are necessary, the accuser, the accused, the witnesses, the judge: these he confounds in his eagerness against me, accusing, witnessing, judging, all himself. Hence it is clear, that if he could he would be executioner too.'

"Also he said, 'He puts his hook in another man's harvest; for he has no power over my person or my Church: over my person, because I never made profession of obedience to him¹, nor yet obeyed him; nor yet made profession to the Church of Canterbury, in the name of this Church, i. e. of London: over my Church, because the Church of London re-asserts the right, which was only taken from it by a Pagan invasion, i. e. of being the Archiepiscopal See. This I am prepared to prove, and on this ground renew my appeal.'

"Also, 'If it is true, as he says, that he holds his power from the Pope as Legate, neither will that assist him, for

¹ [Referring to his refusal, six years before, to take the oath of allegiance to the Archbishop. He then maintained exactly the reverse line of argument, viz. that he *was* bound to the Archbishop, by his former oath of allegiance, as Bishop of Hereford; making this his very ground for not taking the oath again. *Infra* p. 79.]

he is not yet within the precincts for which his Commission is granted.'

"The Dean, Archdeacon, and all the Canons and Presbyters of London joined the appeal. But the Canons of St. Bartholomew's, and St. Martin's, and St. Trinity refused. Then the Dean caused the letter sent to him to be read a second time. What I now come to, took place before Ascension-day, at Westminster. The Bishop of London called together the Bishop of Exeter, Richard of Ilchester, the Abbot of Westminster, Wido Ruffus, the Bishop of Salisbury, and the Barons of the Treasury. The Bishop of London forbade the Bishop of Exeter to kiss him; but did not however refuse it, for the Bishop of Exeter did kiss him.

"When they were seated, the Bishop of London harangued, endeavouring by all sorts of arguments to make the Bishop of Exeter stand by him in the appeal. But he was firm as a strong wall against the assailants of the Church. On his mentioning the sentence you had passed against them, the Bishop of Salisbury said, 'Am I to shrink from my duty because Buinard, my Archbishop, bids me?' I commend this saying of his to your recollection, against some future occasion. Impunity only seems to foment vice.

"Farewell, and consult the Angel of great counsels, under whose guidance you will provide for honesty and expediency at once."

Foliot continued to urge his appeal with great perseverance, backed by the name and authority of the King. He did not however meet with much encouragement among the Bishops. The Bishop of Exeter, as we have seen, refused on grounds of principle, saying that he could not appeal against a

sentence which had been formally passed¹. The Bishop of Durham held back on pretence of consulting his Archbishop. The Bishop of Winchester excused himself on the score of age and infirmities. Active means however were employed in other quarters to procure signatures; and the King's orders, or, what was the same thing, his expressed wishes, frightened many who were not inclined of themselves to take part with Foliot. A letter is extant from the Chapter of Canterbury to the Archdeacon of Poitiers², applying for advice how to act under this difficulty. The Chapter, who, though they had never sided with the Archbishop³, were

¹ ["Quod si ei innotesceret, et Pastoris sui sententia illum percelleret, obedienter illam susciperet. *Hoc dicto Londoniensis religionem ejus ridiculam fecit*, et Exoniensis deinceps extra Synagoram fuit." Ep. iii. 91. From the Bishop of Worcester, to the Chapter of Canterbury.]

² [Ep. iii. 90. He was one of those excommunicated at Vezelay, an opponent of Becket's, and a person of considerable influence with his own party. The letter addresses him in the deepest tone of supplication: "Et illud tibi Evangelicum cum clamore valido et lachrymis offero: *Domine, si quid potes, adjuva nos*. Utinam hoc quod ibi responsum est, et tu mihi respondeas: *Si potes credere, omnia possibilia sunt credenti*. Huic responso statim subinfero: *Credo Domine*. Nec illud adjicio: *Adjuva incredulitatem meam*."]]

³ [The Chapter of Canterbury had been always from time immemorial at war with their Archbishops. With respect to their conduct to Becket, John of Salisbury quotes some persons as saying,—“nil accidisse mirum, quia Monachi Cantuarienses hoc quasi hæreditarium habent, ut Archi-Episcopos suos odirent. Et, ut verbo faciam fidem, Anselmo, inquit, bis pro justitia exulanti, nihil unquam solatii contulerunt, contempserunt Radulphum, oderunt Guillelmum, Theobaldo tetenderunt insidias, et ecce nunc Thomam gratis insatiabiliter persequuntur.” Ep. ii. 36. They disagreed among themselves

afraid of offending him by so overt an act as joining in the appeal, write in great distress, complaining of the intimidation which had been exerted on a humble and unprotected body “whose love and loyalty to their Lord the King was testified by their prayers night and day.” “The matter,” says the writer¹ of the letter, “should have been conducted in the following order. First, all the Bishops should have been called upon to subscribe; then all the Abbots, after them all the Priors of any station; then all the Archdeacons, then all the Deans. Last of all, if it were necessary, they should have gone to Monks of the Cloister, and later still to Monks who were without Abbot or Prior: for the business less properly pertains to such. But now, when so many Abbots, and Priors, men of station and authority, have been passed over, Archbishops too, and Deans, with their Synods and Chapters, why are we, poor Monks of the Cloister², living without Abbot or Prior, to be specially singled out, and have our peace disturbed, by being forced into so perilous and discreditable a business? *Forced*, I say, for danger on one side or the other is inevitable; since, if we escape the dan-

however, and had taken no strong part in the contest.—“*Alius vestrum dicit: Ego sum Regis, Ego Ranulfi, Ego fortunam sequar, et vincentibus adhærebo.*” Letter of John of Salisbury, iii. 19.]

¹ [The letter is written in the name of one of their body only, (Oddo Monachus) who speaks for all.]

² [The Chapter of Canterbury, were the Monks of the Monastery of Christ Church, which was close to the Cathedral, and one establishment with it.]

ger that threatens us from the King's wrath, by consenting to the appeal, we instantly incur, what is still more formidable the condemnation of God, and the Pope's, and Archbishop's excommunication ; or at any rate, extreme danger to our order, and the hatred of all Archbishops for all time to come, to our own conspicuous and perpetual shame. O cruel dilemma ! O necessity, replete with danger ! It cannot be that the King's mercy and considerateness has dictated such a proceeding against us ; he who took us under his care when we were destitute of all human help ; who pledged his word that he would be in the place of Archbishop and Prior to us, and hitherto has fulfilled it most graciously¹ ; whom, next to God and the Saints, we reverence as our only earthly Patron. Certain I am, that no such design would ever have been conceived by our Lord the King, against his faithful sons, had he not been circumvented by the cunning of the excommunicates."

¹ [On the death of their Prior (about two years before), they had sent to the King to nominate a successor ; for which, John of Salisbury reproves them indignantly in one of his letters,—*"Misistis ad Regem, ut quod ad eum non pertinet, Priore mortuo vobis alium subrogaret. Quid aliud, quæso, fecit Israel absente Moyse, ab Aaron expetens ut Deos fabricaret?—Quo pacto accidit, quod primi inter omnes Ecclesias totius Regni Priorem a Principe credidistis esse pretendendum?—Priore mortuo misistis ad Regem, de Archi-Episcopo nec mentio facta est inter vos. Prudenter utique, ut absolveret defuncti fratris animam Rex, ad quem, Jura Sacerdotii credunt, qui desipiunt, pertinere."* Ep. ii. 36. The King, it seems, told the Monks he would be their Prior, and appointed no one to fill the place ; the revenues of which in the interim he applied to his own use. Many other Abbeys were treated in the same way.]

This extract, though relating only to one body, serves to acquaint us pretty clearly with the mode of management which was resorted to in conducting appeals at that time, and the advantage which was taken of a neutral or compliant line of conduct in persons, who had adopted such, to force them to join. Foliot at the same time continued to urge the rival claims of the See of London, as well as his own personal independence of the Archbishop. This was a sort of renewal, though in an exaggerated and more serious shape, of his old dispute respecting the oath of allegiance to the Archbishop, which he had started before the commencement of the present contest; and it throws additional light on Foliot's objection at that time to taking the oath. With such aims and principles as are now apparent in him, it was obviously his policy even then not to shackle himself with respect to his future course, or impair any opportunity that might afterwards arise of elevating his station in the Church. At any rate, we find him, on the present occasion, using his liberty to this purpose. And his scheme too, we must observe, though imprudently bold, has not the appearance of being unpremeditated, (as if the excommunication had first suggested the idea of it, as well as occasioned its disclosure;) for it comes out in a complete and decided form, and supported by arguments. Henry, of course, could not but support so effectual a mode of finishing the contest, as the Bishop of London's

Primacy would have been, and gave his designs all the encouragement in his power.

The arguments of the Bishop, in favour of his pretensions, though professing to be drawn from history and antiquity, were far from being formidable, if we may rely on the specimen given in the last letter, and on other representations of them. "It is a boast of his," says John of Salisbury, "that London was in former times the seat of the Arch-flamen, when the worship of Jupiter prevailed. Perhaps, as he is so wise and religious a person, he would have no objection to see the worship of Jupiter brought back again ; that, if he cannot be Archbishop, he may at any rate have the name and title of Arch-flamen. He relies on a prophecy of Merlin, who, under some impulse, I know not what, foretold before the coming of St. Augustine into England, that, 'when the dignity of London should be transferred to Dover, the Christian religion would be destroyed and restored again.' However, the disciple of Merlin, knowing that his master is no mighty authority, has had recourse, they say, to stronger arguments. He reckons upon the power of the Prince, and the weakness of the Church, upon the avarice of the Roman Court, upon your pusillanimity¹, upon the Archbishop's poverty and his own wealth, which he thinks will make him prevail in his vanity, against the wisdom and justice of God." In spite of these resources, Foliot was unable to draw the Bishops

¹ [The letter is to the Chapter of Canterbury, iii. 19.]

from their allegiance to the See of Canterbury, or create any impression in favour of his pretensions, though the King's officers used threats and intimidation of the most open kind, to force them to a compliance¹. The latter, though opposed to Becket's extreme views, were unwilling to run counter to him any more than was necessary in order to keep themselves clear from difficulties: whereas this would have been taking the offensive, and going out of their way to attack him. The Archbishop however took every precaution for preserving the metropolitan rights of his See; especially as Foliot was designing a journey to the Papal Court, to try what his personal influence could obtain. He wrote to the Chapter of Canterbury to despatch two of their body to Rome, to support the ancient privileges of their Church in opposition to the Bishop; for which purpose they were to be provided with the proper records and documents relating to the subject.

Foliot's attempt created a considerable sensation in the French Church, and caused several letters to be addressed to the Pope, expressing strong indignation at the presumption of it: the Archbishop of

¹ [“Coepiscopi sui, ab Officialibus Regis nuper commoniti, et quatenus potuit fere compulsi, ut ei communicarent, et Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo subtraherent obedientiam, eum ratione juris, ut oportuit, confuderunt, non consentientes ulterius consilio et machinationibus ejus.” Ep. iii. 82. “sicut per Officiales Regis urgebat.” iii. 85.]

Sens going so far as to advise his entire removal from his Bishopric¹.

¹ [The Bishop of Noyon writes : “ Quia eum Cantuariensis Ecclesia sibi in Pontificem non elegit, cœca ductus ambitione, quasi versus in furorem, minatur se Regis viribus facturum, ut Archiepiscopalis Cathedra Londoniam transferatur.” Ep. iii. 82. The Bishop of Auxerre : “ Is est author scissuræ hujus, sator discordiæ, scandali fomes, qui bellum, quod cum Deo et Archiepiscopo suo diu habuit, retorsit in fratres et Cœpiscopos suos, eo quod sibi excommunicato communicare noluerunt, et Archiepiscopo suo debitam subtrahere obedientiam. Ecce, Pater, quantus lupo hactenus in ove latuit, quam manifestus Anti-Christi præambulus, et præco iniquitatis. Scindit Ecclesiæ unitatem. Quid, quæso, aliud faciet Anti-Christus?” iii. 85. The Archbishop of Paris : “ Latuit aliquandiu Londoniensis Episcopus, ne dicam lupo Anti-Christi præambulus, in pelli-bus agnitis.—Nunc impatiens unitatem Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ scindere machinatur.—Discordias seminavit, sparsit scandala, et patenter exercuit opera quæ solutus Sathanas videri debeat exercere.” iii. 86. The Archbishop of Sens : “ Tantorum caput, causa, fomesque malorum est Episcopus ille Londoniensis, qui nunc tandem de dracone conversus in leonem, nequitiam, quam ab ambitione conceperat, patenter exercet.—Nonne manifestus Anti-Christi præambulus est.—Ergo, Pater optime, quoniam—toxicati fructus, quos facit arbor infelix, securim Petri provocant, hanc ei, si placet, misericordiam faciat, ut, Episcopi dejecto titulo, quoniam bestię characterem portat, de cætero nocere non possit.” iii. 88. The Bishop of Troyes : “ Ille Londoniensis—parricidam exprimit furiosum.” iii. 89.]

CHAPTER XVII.

SUCCESSION OF CONFERENCES.

HENRY'S letter to the Pope in behalf of the Bishop of London, was seconded by the exertions of his Envoy at the Court, the Archdeacon of Llandaff, who had returned there for that purpose, being on his way back at the time from his former embassy¹. The Pope however was found not easily manageable. Though only a timorous patron, he still on the present, as on most occasions, patronized the Archbishop so far, as not to give in to any decisive measure against him; especially as the act of the latter now complained of, had been the result of a direct permission from himself, authorizing a recourse to spiritual censures, as soon as a certain specified time had elapsed. The excommunication however of the Bishop of London was too serious a use of this liberty, not to cause the Pope to feel some considerable uneasiness, and even displeasure

¹ [The one despatched after the Conferences of Mountmirail. —“Cum postmodum itinerantibus innotuisset hanc, de qua nunc agitur, latam esse sententiam, *remissus est* ad Dominum Papam Randulphus Archi-Diaconus Landavensis, ut eum sollicitaret excommunicatos absolvere.” Ep. iii. 5.]

toward the Archbishop in consequence of it. And he sent him accordingly a letter of reproof, recommending him to undo his own sentence ; not however meaning to *command* him, should he object to do so.

THE POPE, TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY¹.

JULY 1.

“ Alexander Episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabili Fratri Thomæ, Cantuariensi, Archiepiscopo, totius Angliæ Primati, et Apostolicæ Sedis Legato, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem.

“ We marvel greatly that, at the time, when Envoys deputed by yourself and others from our well-beloved son in Christ, Henry, the illustrious King of England, were still present at our Court, and waiting our determination, you should have thought fit, ourself not consulted, to utter any sentence against the Dignitaries of the Realm. Moreover, although we doubt not your general prudence and circumspection, yet it often happens that persons see less clearly in their own cause, than in the cause of others ; and for this reason, though we are unwilling that your sentence should be révoked but by your own deed, still we advise, counsel, will, and exhort you as a beloved brother, that in order to mitigate the King’s displeasure, you will of yourself suspend it, till such time as you learn from our Envoys whether the said King is willing to be reconciled, and to realise his promise of your recall.

“ It becomes ourself and you to wait with patience, and to tolerate him with all gentleness of spirit for the space of two or three months, that we may leave him without excuse.

“ If you do not think fit to accede to this our request,

¹ Ep. iii. 24.

and things turn out not according to your wish and expectation, but, which God avert, to the contrary, you must attribute the result to yourself. But if, according to our wish and suggestion, you suspend the sentence till the arrival of our Envoys, and the King still persists in his obstinacy, in that case, before the departure of the Envoys you will be at liberty unhesitatingly to recall the sentence, without incurring the risk of our displeasure. Yea, rather you may look to us for every support and assistance.

“Datum Beneventi, Calendis Julii.”

The matter, in the end, was handed over, in common with all other points at issue, to an Embassy¹; the third which had been appointed in the course of the two last years, and which, like the former ones, was only a temporary expedient, meant rather to suspend the necessity of a final decision, than to lead to one. When the Pope was wearied with the solicitations of Envoys, and with the noise of the contest at his own doors, and had no answer at hand, his resource was to appoint an Embassy; which had the effect immediately of removing the contest to a distance, and interposing a middle court between himself and the parties disputing: so leaving him for the present, at liberty either to relieve his mind of the subject altogether, or prepare for the next call for a decision. Such was the course determined on now; the old forms of exhortation and commination were to be gone through again; and the new

¹ [Appointed before the news of the sentence reached Rome.]

Envoys, as if nothing had been done, were to urge the King to a reconciliation, on peril of the sentence of the Church falling upon him. Little however was known about them, or their instructions; when John of Salisbury wrote the following letter; which, as we shall see, is meant to give a cheerful view of things, and to answer certain rumours and hopes which were afloat among the opposite party.

SUO BENEDICTO¹ SUUS GRATIANUS. AFTER JULY 22.

“Negligent of my own concerns and meddling with other people’s, as if I had any thing to do either with the men of Canterbury or their rivals, I went to Vezelay on the Feast of the Blessed Mary Magdalen, to meet the Envoys of his Lordship the Pope, and make out, if I could, what was to be hoped or feared. This tale seems entirely to take up the ears and tongues of both nations, certainly among the Clergy, and almost the Laity. Besides I wished to see my namesake, and what is more, my countryman, and after a manner cousin-german, whom, as you may remember, Pope Eugenius of Blessed memory consigned to your guardianship at Ferento.

“By him and his colleague Vivian I was received most graciously, and I found in conversation that the cause of Canterbury stands well with the Pope and the Church of Rome. So much so, indeed, that unless the King makes peace on the terms his Holiness prescribes, not only is he to be consigned to the will of the Archbishop, but the Chief Priest himself will put forth his hand against him.

¹ [Ep. iii. 5. The Bishop of Exeter. Ep. ii. 26 (p. 284) seems to have had the same address.]

“ You say people wonder at the procedure of his Lordship of Canterbury, in excommunicating the Bishops and others, unconvicted, uncited, and, what is more, while an appeal was pending : and truly, if it were so, they might well wonder. But it was not so. Their deeds not only did not meet premature judgment, but pulled down on themselves a slow and lingering one. They are convicted, not simply, as was indeed requisite, by man’s judgment, but heaven and earth cry out against them. Wherefore the protection of appeal has rightly been denied them, and full powers have been granted to the Archbishop against the King, his Realm, and all Dignitaries of the same, for the punishment of all disobedience, and the repression of all evil doers. He proceeds therefore with the full sanction of the Apostolic See, and has recently received assurance, through his private Envoys and by letters from the Pope, that nothing which he decrees shall be reversed. Yet the Archbishop is ready to absolve the excommunicates, according to the forms and institutions of the Church, on their performing the requisite penance ; but if, which God forbid, they persist as they have begun, then, if life permits, he will proceed to extremities ; nor will he replace the sword of the Holy Spirit in its sheath, till he has purged the earth of such abominations.

“ As to the boast of Reginald the Archdeacon, that these Envoys are to frustrate the Archbishop’s designs, and make void what he has done under Apostolic authority, themselves flatly deny it ; asserting with an oath that neither will they attempt any thing to the Archbishop’s prejudice, nor indeed can they, but must consult in all things for his honour and advantage. A form is prescribed to them from which they are not empowered to deviate : moreover they are instructed, and have sworn that, unless peace is arranged, they will receive no present from the

King, not even reimbursement for their expenses. Let men talk as they please, my own hopes are higher than ever; and let who will boast of having received absolution, I know for certain that none has. The sentence was not even known when they set out¹; but they heard it on their way hither, and sent back Randolph, Archdeacon of Llandaff, to plead for the excommunicates, but without a hope of success; for not to mention other reasons, his Lordship, R——, Bishop of Meaux, backed with higher authority than theirs, and a better cause, will oppose them with all his might.

“However, God willing, we shall soon hear all. The Envoys are already at Auxerre, and their secrets cannot be kept much longer.

“You say you are anxious about your friend, and for your sake mine, the Bishop of Exeter. I applaud his conduct, as far as it goes, in withdrawing from the excommunicates. It is clear they should be avoided, till their absolution is a matter of certainty. We must obey God rather than man; and in such cases this is no easy matter: through much tribulation we must enter the Kingdom of God. My beloved, this is the way of the just; thus it is that He purges sin and hardens virtue, placing His Elect between the hammer and the anvil. If, as I very little expect, he obtains licence to cross the sea, I fear they will make him appeal at the discretion of the persecutor: if not, then, during the King’s absence, he may contrive different excuses and delays to evade Satan’s inferior ministers, and dwell as he best can among the tents of Kedar. But if the King returns, and he is pressed close, let him raise his voice as a Bishop ought, and with his good cause

¹ [i. e. Henry’s Envoys from Rome. Reginald had been sent up with the Archdeacon of Llandaff after the Conferences of Mountmirail, and on his return spread this report.]

to rest upon, go out from the midst of Babylon. Meanwhile let him look well to what is coming, and put his trust in works of charity and in the prayers of the Saints. So it was that the great Basil rescued himself and his people from the jaws of Julian. Let him read this history, if he has not yet. Truly God looketh down from on high, nor will He suffer His Elect to be tempted above that they are able, but will, with the temptation, also provide a glorious escape.

“To mitigate your anxiety, in one point, at least, Frederic, the German tyrant, is supposed to be on the point of making peace with the Church, requesting that his second son, whom he has caused to be elected King, may be recognized by the Pope as Emperor, and consecrated by the Catholic Bishops; and that he shall obey the Apostolic See, while the said Frederic is not compelled to acknowledge any other Pope than Peter, and those who are in Heaven. It will be conceded readily, as long as it is not formally inserted in the treaty, that those who have received ordination or consecration from the Schismatical Heresiarchs, shall retain their rank and offices. Things are at present in this position, but each party seems likely to concede something. All will be known shortly, on the return of the Abbots of Citeaux and Clairvaux, who are Procurators in this negotiation.

“The bearer of these will add some particulars in conversation. Pray take care of him till his health is recovered, and let my brother prepare his medicine. When any thing occurs worth telling you, I will send the earliest notice I can.

“Farewell, and remember your friends, before the Lord.”

The following letter was written not long after the one preceding; after, however, the Conference had taken place.

JOHN OF SALISBURY, TO HUGO DE GANT¹.

“My mind is conceiving thankfulness, but there is not strength to bring forth. The malice of the persecutor suspends my power of acting, but my feelings will find a vent in words, in spite of him.

“By the favour of God, the cause of His Church is now beyond the reach of danger. The heads of the schism have failed, and the hammer of the Church of England, arrested in his doings, is now unable to find a supporter.

“The moral disorder had reached its crisis, and he, finding that the schismatics, Frederic and his accomplices, could no longer profit him against the Lord and against His Anointed, sought refuge in the states of Italy. To these he sent an Embassy, and offered the Milanese three thousand marks and a thorough repair of their fortifications, if they would join the other states, which he was attempting to corrupt, in prevailing on the Church of Rome to depose or translate the Archbishop of Canterbury. On the same conditions he had promised the citizens of Cremona two thousand, and those of Parma and Bologna one thousand each. To his Lordship the Pope he offered a release from all the demands the Romans made on him, and ten thousand marks besides; and allowed him to appoint what Pastors he would, as well in the Church of Canterbury as in all other Sees now vacant in England. The promises however were too large to be credited, and the petition manifestly unjust; so he met a repulse.

“When his own resources failed, he tried next what the power of the King of Sicily could do for him; but neither the Bishop of Syracuse with all his efforts, nor yet the labours of Robert, Earl of Basseville, and the other host

¹ Ep. iii. 80.

of intercessors, nor the great power, weight, and influence which that King possesses in the Church of Rome, could effect his wishes. The Envoys were at last dismissed in disappointment, having obtained nothing but a promise that his Lordship the Pope would send Envoys to mediate a peace, viz. Gratian, the Subdeacon, and M. Vivian¹, Archdeacon of the ancient city, who executes the office of Advocate² in the Court. And these he has bound down by a solemn oath to abide by prescribed terms of peace, which they are on no account to exceed. It is in their Instructions too, that their expenses shall not be defrayed by the King unless peace is granted. Nor are they to remain a day beyond the time appointed them.

“Cheer up, then, my well-beloved, and, whatever you hear in the mean time, be not moved at it; for God has disposed of His cause in safety. You will hear perhaps of the haughtiness of Moab, but remember that his pride is greater than his courage. The wicked are terrified in Sion, and fear has taken hold of the false-hearted, for, unless they turn again from their wickedness, they shall be cast out and shall not be able to stand. Now is the axe laid to the root of the tree; and the Angel’s fan is in his hand to sever the wheat from the chaff.

¹ [The former was a nephew of Pope Eugenius III., and also a Notary of the Holy See. Ep. iii. 1. They were both men of considerable reputation; the latter for his legal acquirements chiefly. “*Delectos filios nostros Gratianum Subdiaconum et Notarium nostrum, Virum honestum et literatum, quem ob memoriam sanctæ recordationis Patris et Prædecessoris nostri Eugenii Papæ, et intuitu sincerissimæ fidei et obsequii sui charum omnimodis acceptumque tenemus, et Magistrum Vivianum, quem, ob antiquam familiaritatem, prudentiam, et literaturam ejus, sincero cordis affectu diligimus, ad præfati Regis præsentiam duximus destinandos.*” Ep. iii. 1.]

² [The Advocates of Cathedral Churches superintended the estates, and managed suits of law respecting them.]

“The aforesaid Envoys have been with the King, but what reception they met is as yet unknown. This however is certain, that the King has bound himself, both by word and writing, to abide by his Lordship the Pope’s counsel and mandate. The writing is in our hands, and if he backs out of it, we shall easily convict him. But the Church will believe nothing, till deeds vouch for his words.

“The Archbishop returns your greetings most warmly and affectionately; you have a large place in his love and esteem.”

The King and the Envoys met on the 23rd of August, and several conferences followed, the proceedings of which are given in the following letter. They begin, and indeed are chiefly occupied throughout, with the subject of the late excommunications; the King urging as a first step the absolution of the excommunicates, and obliging the Envoys to dispose of that question, previous to their entering on the object of their mission.

TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, FROM A FRIEND¹.

THE FIRST WEEK IN SEPT.

“On the day of the Assumption of the Blessed Mary², the letters of the Pope’s Envoys arrived at Argenton, and the King on reading them was greatly troubled. The day following he sent the Dean of Salisbury, and Reginald the Archdeacon, to meet them. On the vigil of blessed Bartholomew³ the Envoys arrived at Domfront⁴. On hearing of their arrival, Geoffrey Ridel, and Nigel de Sacville

¹ Ep. iii. 6.

⁵ Aug. 23.

² Aug. 14.

⁴ [A town of Maine.]

left the town in haste. The reason of this will not escape your Lordship. That very day, late in the evening, the King returned from the forest, and waited on the Envoys before he went to his own house. He received them with all honour, reverence, and humility. While they were exchanging their first compliments, Prince Henry came to the door, and many boys with him, blowing with their hunting horns, as is usual on taking a stag. This was presented whole to the Envoys¹.

“The next morning, at about six, the King waited on the Envoys, and they attended him to the apartments of the Bishops of Rennes and Seez. After some delay, admittance was given to John, Dean of Salisbury, and Reginald, the Archdeacon, and soon after to the Archdeacon of Llandaff. These remained in conversation together till three in the afternoon; they were standing, and spoke sometimes gently, sometimes loud and angrily. The King’s object was to save the excommunicate Clerics from taking the oath. Just before sunset the King came out, very wroth, complaining bitterly that the Pope had never listened to his requests in any thing, and said with defiance, ‘By God’s eyes, I will do something else.’ Gratian answered mildly, ‘Threaten not, my Lord; the Court we come from is accustomed to dictate to Emperors.’ Then a convocation was held of all the Barons and white Monks that were in attendance, and nearly all the Chaplains; and the King called on them to witness what great offers he had made; viz. the restitution of the Archbishopric and of peace. At last he left them somewhat pacified, and appointed the octave for giving a definite answer.

An interval of a week now followed; which the Envoys employed in preparing an answer for

¹ The Latin goes on—‘ut audiret hospes. En ad populum phalaras.’

Henry, in case he should renew the question, which it was certain he would, of absolving the excommunicates without the oath. They wrote to the Archbishop of Sens for his opinion on the lawfulness of such an omission: Henry sending a letter immediately after, requesting him to give it in his favour¹. The Archbishop, in his reply to the Envoys, only censured, as he had a right to do, the unfairness of thus throwing the odium of opposing the King upon himself², and declined giving them any encouragement to act contrary to ecclesiastical usage. The letter proceeds :

“On this day³ the Bishops of Rouen, Bordeaux, and all the Bishops of Normandy, met by appointment, and the Bishop of Le Mans by accident. Worcester did not arrive this day, but was expected the next, and came accordingly. The Bishop of Poitiers excused himself, as he was holding a Synod, but promised to come when it was over.

“On the last day of August the Envoys presented to the King at Baieux, the Pope’s letters, praying for your Lordship’s return and reconciliation. His Lordship the King, after going through all that is usually said against

¹ Ep. iii. 26.

² [Ep. iii. 31. The Archbishop’s letter charges the Envoys with having given it to be understood, that a permission from him would set them at liberty to go against the Pope’s orders in this respect.—The Archbishop seems to have possessed considerable influence with the Pope; as his frequent correspondence with him has already shown. He was intimate too with the King of France, and was perhaps the leading Bishop in the French Church.]

³ The octave, August 31.

you, declared, ‘ If I grant any of his Lordship the Pope’s requests for that person, I shall deserve many thanks for it.’ The day after the Bishops met the Envoys at a place called *Lebur*. Immediately on the arrival of the Envoys the King entered the park, and all the Bishops with him, and the rest, as many as had been summoned by name. For the first thing, the King spoke in private to the Envoys, to procure absolution for his Clerics without their taking the oath. They refused flatly, and he immediately ran to his horse, mounted, and swore to all in hearing, that never again would he listen to the Pope, or any one else in your Lordship’s behalf. On hearing this, the Archbishops and Bishops, and as many as were present, entreated the Envoys for the love of God to concede this point; which they accordingly did, though most reluctantly. On this the King again dismounted, and entered on the negotiation. Soon after, when all in the park were collected, the King began his narration, saying he wished them all to know that your Lordship had not left England on his account, and that he had often recalled you, that you might render account of your conduct to him; but that you had refused: in the present instance, however, in compliance with the Pope’s prayers and commands, that he would restore you your Archbishopric in peace, and allow all to return that had been banished on your account. This concession he made about three o’clock in the evening, and afterwards was very cheerful and went through much other business. Then he again returned to the Envoys, requesting that they would go to England to absolve the excommunicates who were there. On their refusal, he was angry, but asked that at least one of them would go, or that they would commission one of their Clerics, and that he would pay the expenses himself. This too Gratian refused; he is, as I hope, a son of grace: and the King

very angrily said aloud : ‘ Do what you will, I care not for you or your excommunication one egg.’ He then mounted to retire. But the Archbishops and Bishops who were there followed him and remonstrated ; and he again returned and spoke with them. The sum of their deliberations was, that they should write to the Pope, testifying that in their presence the King had offered your Lordship peace, and that he was pressed to comply with his Holiness’s commands, and that the difficulty was raised on the part of the Envoys : then they wasted much time in composing their letter. At last the King left them, quite out of patience. On this the Bishops informed him that the Envoys had been with them, and had shown a Mandate from his Lordship the Pope, commanding all to obey whatever they decreed : the King answered, ‘ I know they will interdict my kingdom ; but shall I, who can take a castle a day, be unable to take the Cleric who dares to publish the sentence ?’ However, on their conceding one or two points, the storm blew over, and he came to himself and said, ‘ Unless you make peace this night you will never get so far again ;’ and then, calling all together, ‘ It behoves me to do much at the request of my Lord the Pope, who is my Lord and my Father, and therefore I restore to him his Archbishopric and my forgiveness, and to all who are banished on his account.’ Then the Envoys and all the others returned thanks, and the King added, ‘ If I have been deficient in any thing to-day, I will make it up to-morrow.’

“ The next day they met at the same place, about noon, and, after a long discussion about the absolution of the excommunicates, whether they should or should not take the oath, it was at last agreed that Geoffrey Ridel, and Nigel de Sacville, and Thomas Fitz-Bernard, should extend their hands towards the Book of the Gospels placed

before them, and declare on the word of truth that they would obey the Instructions of the Envoys, which they did¹. A request was then made, that all the appurtenances of your Lordship's Church, which the King had disposed of in your absence, should rest with those on whom he had conferred them. But, as I hear, it was agreed that they should all be placed at your Lordship's disposal. Then it was proposed that the Bishops should draw up in writing the terms of peace to which the King had consented, but he continued to press with much earnestness that one of the Envoys would go to England to absolve the excommunicates². On their breaking up, about nine o'clock at night, the King insisted that there should be inserted in the terms of peace, '*Salva Dignitate Regni sui*,' but Gratian, as I hear, refused to grant this on any condition whatsoever.

"Thus matters are now at a stand. On the day of the

¹ ["*Extenta manu ad Evangelia coram posita dixerunt in verbo veritatis se facturos mandata nunciorum*,"—a promise (by way of compromise) in the place of an *oath*. The oath here objected to was itself a departure from strict rule, being a substitute for actual penance and satisfaction. Persons who took it declared themselves ready to make such satisfaction *when* called on; which it probably never actually was, the form only being insisted on, in order to keep up the rights of the Church. The oath is required in the case of the Vezelay Excommunicates, both on John of Oxford's return (note 2, p. 253), and by the Legates afterwards; and seems to have been the usual course adopted. Of course where parties were in possession of Church property, the claim would be actually enforced, rather to get the property back, than as an infliction of penance. A mere *promise*, it is evident, would be a kind of relaxation again of this oath.]

² [This point was conceded afterwards (see Vivian's letter); though nothing was done, in consequence of the unfavourable termination of the conferences.]

Nativity of the blessed Virgin Mary¹ they return to Caen. His Lordship of Lisieux took pains to please the King, his Lordship of Rouen to please God and his Lordship the Pope. Farewell."

The letter just given leaves the excommunicates about to be absolved, which they were the very next meeting. But the advantage which Henry took of this piece of success was such as entirely to disappoint the whole design of the Embassy. It appears from Vivian's account² to the Pope of these proceedings, that at the meeting, the day before, Henry insisted on the expression being allowed, "that the Archbishop should hold his Church to the honour of the King and his posterity"—*teneret ecclesiam in honorem Regis et filiorum suorum*. These words were allowed to pass as having nothing objectionable in them. But after the absolution had taken place, Henry endeavoured to exchange them for, "*Salva Regni dignitate*,"—a more significant expression; an assent to which would be sure to have been interpreted afterwards into a general admission of the King's claims. Henry indeed professed in these conferences to have given up all reference to the decrees of the Council of Clarendon; but, as Becket afterwards writes to the Pope³, the "*Dignitates*," he insisted on, was only another term for them. This alteration was not listened to, and the Envoys retired to Caen, followed however by the Bishops and some other persons of sta-

¹ Sept. 8.

² Ep. iii. 27.

³ Ep. iii. 54.

tion about the Court, both lay and Cleric, whom Henry sent after them to renew the discussion. The Envoys now made an offer to admit on their side the obnoxious phrase, provided the other party would give way also, and allow a counter one—*Salva Ecclesie dignitate*, to stand side by side with it. But this proposal fell to the ground; Henry's party preferred dropping their own form of words to admitting another on the opposite side. And in the end they were obliged to give up the obnoxious phrase. Henry however, on his representatives retiring, refused to ratify the concession; and the two sides parted from each other, as far from an agreement as ever¹. The Envoys put off their departure for a month, in order to give Henry an opportunity to change his mind; at the end of which time² they gave notice, that the sentence of the Archbishop would be again put in force with respect to the persons whom they had absolved; which accordingly was done.

The preceding is Vivian's account. Henry after-

¹ [The Archdeacon of Pavia was sent to communicate with Henry privately, after the regular conferences were over; but was dismissed contemptuously; not however before he had suffered considerably from the robberies of the attendants about the Court. One of his suite who was leaving on that very account, had got only a little way out of the town, when he was set upon by a party of these men, and most roughly handled. But a soldier who luckily happened to pass, threatened to inform the Envoys, Gratian and Vivian, of the outrage; on which they let him go.—Letter of Vivian. The next Envoys were instructed to excommunicate all who took part in these proceedings.]

² [On St. Michael's day, the 29th of Sept.]

wards charged¹ the Envoys with inconsistency and bad faith, for rejecting a qualification that they had in the first instance admitted. It was of course to be expected that such a charge should be made; nor at first sight does there appear so great a difference between the expression they admitted, and that which they refused, as entirely to acquit the latter of something like inconsistency. Not that any more however is proved, than would readily be accounted for by the necessary confusion attending a personal conference; where proposals were made, and had to be answered by word of mouth, and on the spot, before the full meaning of them could be understood; and where an assent therefore might easily be given, before persons knew what they were assenting to. There was no harm in Henry's form of words, so far as the words themselves went, and therefore the objectionable meaning which lay underneath them, was not a thing to be discovered, till he himself threw light upon it, as he did afterwards by the attempt at an alteration; thus exciting the suspicions of the Envoys, who would of course then reply, and with perfect truth, that they had never meant to concede so much. In this way, the inconsistency of one party would be only a necessary effect of the unfairness of the other.

It will be observed, that these conferences terminate very much in the same question on which the

¹ Ep. iii. 20.

Conferences at Mountmirail turned throughout; i. e. the question of allowing the Heads of the Church a reserve in their obedience to the state. The “*Salva Regni dignitate*” which was here insisted on, excluded this reserve, inasmuch as it was contradictory of it, in the King’s sense of the words; it could not stand side by side with the “*Salva Ecclesiæ dignitate*.” This old claim of the Church indeed, was now the main obstacle in the way of a reconciliation; the original subject of dispute, viz. the Constitutions of Clarendon, having been dropped of late, or kept in the background, as if intentionally. Henry for some time past had been trying to carry the point of the oath with the Clergy in England; and had gone even further than simply attacking the obnoxious reservation itself. A new form of oath of his own construction, had been introduced (evidently with a view to establishing a general principle) which was undoubtedly designed in a very marked way to fetter and secularize the Clergy, though the precise wording of it has not been handed down to us. “Many,” Becket says in a letter addressed to the Pope¹ after these conferences, “are compelled to swear disobedience to the Canons of the Church, and even to the commands of the Gospel. If I acquiesce in an unconditional oath, the other Bishops and the whole Church will have it forced upon them as well.” Such open attempts as these which were pursued in

¹ Ep. iii. 54.

England, must doubtless have assisted in clearing the Archbishop's view, with respect to the character of the oath pressed upon himself at these two conferences¹.

Henry, after the conferences, despatched an Embassy² to the Pope, with a letter in his own defence³, in which he brought out the complaint which has been alluded to. He was seconded by the Archbishop of Rouen⁴, and a party of Norman Bishops and Clergy⁵; how large or important, it does not appear. In the letter however which is handed down to us, they style themselves the Bishops and Clergy of Normandy, and they signify to the Pope their regret that his Envoys should have been so suspicious of an expression, which really contained nothing objectionable. "We endeavoured," says

¹ [Some other subjects, of minor importance, were discussed. Henry, though he did not call the Archbishop to account for his expenditure while Chancellor, still made demands on him for money, which he asserted, had been borrowed afterwards by him, when he was Archbishop. The latter's remark upon this is, that by God's blessing all the world knew that he had accounted for the money satisfactorily. A claim was made too upon Henry to refund the proceeds of the benefices, belonging to the Archbishop's fellow-exiles, which he had been enjoying in their absence. It was refused.]

² [Reginald, Archdeacon of Salisbury, the Archdeacon of Llandaff, and Richard Barre. 'Qua de causa nunc ad vos properare dicuntur Reginaldus de Saresberia, & Richardus Barre, qui cujus fidei & modestiæ sint, authore Domino, Nunciis vestris referentibus audietis in brevi.' Ep. iii. 92, the Archbishop to the Pope.]

³ Ep. iii. 20.

⁴ Ep. iii. 21. The Bishop of Nivers also wrote, iii. 22.

⁵ Ep. iii. 23.

the Archbishop of Rouen, “with all earnestness and solicitude, remembering the purpose for which we attended the conference, to convince your Envoys, that placing the honour of God first, and next to that maintaining the ancient dignity of the Realm, they should receive with gladness the formula touching the Royal Estate [Dignitas]; which was indeed a most excellent one, and quite deserving their acceptance. But grieved we were to find all our persuasion produce no effect; more especially as to us it is a thing certain, that the Royal Estate by no means prejudices either the Estate or Liberty of the Church. Rather, the Ecclesiastical Estate advances the Royal, the Royal preserves the Ecclesiastical. The King cannot obtain salvation without the Church, or the Church security without the King’s protection. Thus they mutually embrace and support each other.” The same sentiments are re-echoed almost in the same words in the letter of the Clergy¹.

The Archbishop now at liberty to act for himself, in consequence of the termination of the Embassy, began to turn his thoughts again towards an Interdict; as he had done before at such intervals. Indeed his notions, both as regarded the justice and the policy to be pursued in the treatment of Henry, had suggested this course to him from the first opening of the contest; and he seems always to have had such a measure before him: only the in-

¹ This letter is in the collection of Arnulph, Bishop of Lisieux. Bib. Vet. Pat. xxii. 1333.

terrutions occasioned by embassies from Rome, and appeals to Rome, and other temporary suspensions of his Ecclesiastical powers, had prevented him from putting his purpose into effect ; these having in fact taken up almost the whole of the time. For an Embassy, it must be observed, from the first day of its appointment, suspended the Archbishop's movements ; who could do nothing while special and higher judges were in office ; though the latter perhaps might not begin to act for some time after their office had commenced. In this way, there being so much time, both before and after the actual holding of the Conferences, during which the Archbishop's hands were tied, he may be said to have been almost under one sentence of Suspension from the first, only rendered more harassing and vexatious from the promise afforded by his short intervals of liberty, and the alternations in consequence of expectation and disappointment. It was a state of confinement which was always approaching its termination, and never realizing it. With a clear line of action before him from the first, and with resolution and ability to carry it out, the Archbishop was compelled to keep pace step by step with a Court that was absolutely deficient in both these respects ; and found himself reduced throughout to a situation of simple passiveness and endurance, which not only deprived him of the use of his natural energy and powers, but even converted them into a source of pain, uneasiness, and restlessness to him. On the present occasion, after referring

the Pope to Gratian for proof of Henry's obstinacy, and the kind of treatment which it demanded, he sent letters over to England, addressed to the Bishops and various bodies of Clergy¹, announcing that unless the King made satisfaction in time, i. e. before the feast of the Purification, (2nd February, 1170) an Interdict would be laid upon the king-

¹ [Ep. iii. 33, to the Clergy of his own Diocese: 'Novit vestra discretio pro parte, quot et quantas injurias Ecclesiæ Dei et nostris intulerit Dominus Rex Anglorum, et quamdiu ipsum et suos in multa patientia sustinuerimus, exspectantes ut eum nostra mansuetudo ad pœnitentiam provocaret. Nunc autem quia ille Domini Papæ et nostra patientia semper abusus est, et in periculum animæ nostræ redundabit, si tantas Christi injurias ulterius dissimulaverimus, Universitati vestræ in virtute obedientiæ, sub anathemate, in periculo Ordinis et Beneficii, Apostolica autoritate et nostra præcipiendo mandamus, quatenus, nisi prædictus Dominus noster Rex, infra Purificationem Beatæ Mariæ, Ecclesiæ Dei et nobis debitam satisfactionem exhibuerit, ex tunc penitus a Divinorum celebratione cessetis, excepto Baptismo Parvulorum, Pœnitentia, et Viatico, quod pro necessitate conficiendum est, clausis Ecclesiæ januis, personis prorsus exclusis, sine campanarum pulsatione et solemnitatibus, quas tempore quietis et lætitiæ exercere Ecclesia consuevit.' This notice was sent everywhere. vide iii. 34, 38, 72. Henry obliged the whole people of England to swear that they would not take in these letters: 'Tamen hoc sacramentum apostasiæ nobilis quædam Domina filia Baldwini de Byerners, viriliter agens, et zelum habens obedientiæ Dei, neque juravit, neque aliquem hominum suorum jurare permisit. Archiepiscopus Eboracensis similiter. Alii Episcopi qui in Anglia remanserant, proh dolor, in parochiis sacramentum illud jurari permiserunt. Archiepiscopus hoc audito, tanto compatiens errori et apostasiæ, missis clam literis ad aliquos timoratos Dei, omnes qui inviti juraverant a sacramento absolutos pronunciat. Rex facit portus districtissime observari.' Fitz-Stephen, p. 62. He thus notices the threat of the Interdict: 'Iterum et iterum dulcibus alloquiis Regem Dominus Papa compellat. Non proficiens via hac, minatur securim ad radium arboris ponendam.' p. 61.]

dom : if that proved ineffectual, that it would be succeeded by a sentence of excommunication on the person of the King himself¹.

In the mean time, though Gratian had returned, communications still passed between Vivian and Henry, the latter Envoy having staid behind for this purpose. He seems to have entertained a more favourable notion of the King than his colleague ; and to have had less dependence placed on him by the Archbishop's party ; for Gratian is obviously the favourite whenever the two are mentioned together. Henry treated Vivian with more courtesy and compliance than he ordinarily showed ; and invited him of his own accord to an interview. This passed off amicably ; and the whole affair promised well. Vivian, on the strength of his success, sent a hopeful letter² to the Archbishop, informing him "that the King and himself had at length fixed upon terms of peace which in no degree compromised the honour of God or his Church," and that in consequence "on the part of his Lordship the Pope and the Roman Church, he and his associate the Treasurer and Deputy of his most illustrious Highness, the Lord Cardinal William, counselled him to come without fail to the colloquy of the two Kings, about to be held at St. Denys, where, under God's permission, he would be met with the

¹ [‘ Quod si nec in Subditorum pœnis excessus correxit Rex Angliæ, exinde personæ ejus, quod inviti dicimus, in dispendium salutis nostræ, sicut hactenus fecimus, Authore Domino, non parcemus.’ Ep. iii. 34.

² Ep. iii. 9.

Angelical Hymn,—Gloria in Excelsis Deo, et in terra pax Domino Cantuariensi. His associate was acquainted with some State secrets, of great importance to him; and there were many reasons for his coming, which would afterwards be explained.”

This was an unexpected call upon the Archbishop, and he considered it an intrusive one. “It is unnecessary to remind you,” he says in his answer to Vivian¹, “you who are a lawyer, and so well informed on legal subjects, how careful you should be not to act your commission over again when it has once expired, or overstep the time prescribed for your exertions, however they may have turned out, whether for good or ill. Be prudent in your purposes, guarded in your conduct; or you will become a proverb in the mouths of the people, and a laughing-stock to the great. If on your own authority you assume a new commission, let those pay you obedience, whose concern it is; let those submit to the burden, who hope to reap the advantage: in no respect however does your jurisdiction touch us. With reference to what you tell us of your having an associate in your labours, the Treasurer and Deputy of his most illustrious Highness my Lord Cardinal, we know not what to admire most, the presumption of that associate himself, or the solicitude of his superior in this affair. Whichever of them is responsible, he ought to take care and provide against the dangerous consequences which his presumption may bring upon him. For

¹ Ep. iii. 10.

yourself, we are obliged by your solicitude for us and ours, in furtherance of a peace ; would that your discretion were as evident. But amid the niceties and ambiguities of debate with which you will be met, we fear that your labour and pains may go for nothing, which we should be sorry for ; and so the result be to deaden even your solicitude in our cause.”

As a mark of respect however to the Roman Church, and consideration to Vivian himself, he consents in his letter to allow him an interview beforehand, in order to hear his reasons for expecting success. The result of this explanation was the adoption of a middle course. The Archbishop went up to Paris at the time of the meeting of the Kings, but did not attend the meeting ; instead of which he gave Henry an interview of his own accord afterwards. What took place on the latter occasion will appear from his own letter to the Archbishop of Sens afterwards ; which also gives us a farther account of the commencement of Vivian’s affair. It starts from the time of Gratian’s return, and the termination of the last Embassy.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, TO THE ARCHBISHOP
OF SENS¹.

“ Reverendo Patri et amico carissimo, Wilhelmo, Dei gratia Senonensi Archiepiscopo, Thomas Cantuariensis Ecclesie, Minister humilis, quicquid devotio potest exulis et proscripti.

¹ Ep. iii. 61.

“ On hearing of your Lordship’s journey, the King of England became exceedingly alarmed lest you should procure a Legatine Commission over his continental dominions : for in the whole Church of France there is no one whom he regards with any fear except your Lordship ; nor yet in the Church of Rome, except Lord Gratian. If his boast is true, every one else with whom he has come in contact, has been found tractable one way or another. But, when he heard that Lord Gratian was returning¹ in your suite, he was unable to conceal his agitation, and said he should be compelled to make peace, or subjected to perpetual ignominy.

“ Under this impression he wrote to solicit the farther interference of M. Vivian, and so did his Lordship of Rouen and Geoffrey Ridel : and, as Vivian has confessed in the hearing of many, gave his corporal oath to follow his advice and the Mandate of his Lordship the Pope, in restoring peace to the Church. Moreover he caused letters to be written, and affixed his seal to them, in which he promised that for the love of his Lordship the Pope he would restore to us the Church of Canterbury, and all our confiscated possessions, in peace and security : all this was for fear of your Lordship and Lord Gratian, whoever may boast to the contrary. However he made no mention of the goods that have been seized, except that, if we would make peace on the terms he wished, he would make us the head of his kingdom, and suffer us to want in nothing.

“ M. Vivian credited his professions and returned, and he himself went to St. Denys, professing the greatest devotion, but in reality intending, what he nearly accomplished, i. e. to circumvent his most Christian Majesty (for in the interview he promised to entrust to him the education of his son Richard, and to summon the Earl of St. Gilles to Tours to account to the said Richard for the

¹ [i. e. to Rome.]

Earldom of Toulouse.) The place seemed particularly well chosen, inasmuch as the partizans of either side might attend there in perfect safety; and the judges might pass sentence as the rights of the case required, without any fear of the condemned party. So his Lordship the King of France, and M. Vivian, and other wise men, pressed us to attend and to remain at Paris while the King of England was at St. Denys.

“ In the interview which ensued, Vivian urged him pressingly and constantly to abide by his engagements, but he receded as usual, and exhibited himself in such a light, that Vivian, when he returned to us, said openly in the hearing of many, that he had never met with or heard of such evasive conduct. We heard afterwards that he had not shrunk from speaking thus out to the King’s face; so that he seems in a great measure to have recovered the credit he had lost¹. We give your Lordship notice of this, that in case he should deal less openly on his return to Rome, and should lean towards the Deceiver’s side, your Lordship may be able to place the matter in its true light before his Lordship the Pope and the Cardinals.

“ It seems to have happened by a kind of special providence, that, when Lord Gratian was returned after his vigorous conduct, and while your Lordship, whom God has chosen for a firm pillar of the Church, and who are so well acquainted with this man’s character, chance to be visiting the Apostolic See, Vivian, with whatever inten-

¹ [Henry, as soon as it appeared that Vivian had given him up, revenged himself by asserting publicly that he had obtained the Envoys’ former good will by bribery. Vivian complains of this in a letter afterwards to Henry.—“ *Tantum pro vobis institi, quod multorum et magnorum amisi gratiam, et fabula factus sum Detractorum. Unde miror, quod me, quem in vestra utilitate et honore noluistis audire, quasi pecunia corruptum reddere voluistis infamem.*”]

tion, should have remained in France, and thus been the means of bringing the just cause to light, and contributing to the reputation of Gratian. It has been the fate of the King of England to be unmasked by his own partizan; so that it is to be hoped his Lordship the Pope and the Court of Rome will for the future pay less attention to his smooth speeches.

“ When he was on his way back from St. Denys, we went to meet him at Montmartre¹, and petitioned him, through his Lordship of Rouen and the Bishop of Seez, and others who had been parties to the arrangement, that he would restore his Royal favour to ourself and ours, together with our possessions and seized goods; and offering in turn to show him every kind of deference which is due from an Archbishop to a King. He answered, that he readily forgave on his part all the offences which he had complained of, and that, in the matters we now proposed, he would abide the decision of his Lordship the King of France, or of the French Church, or of the University of Paris. On hearing this, we professed our willingness, but stated at the same time that we would rather settle the affair amicably, than press our claims by litigation; and that, if he would restore to us and ours our Church and possessions, and would assure us of his royal favour and protection by the kiss of peace, we should be content with this, and would only ask for a moiety of the seized goods, so as to discharge our own debts, and those of our friends, and to repair dilapidations, and stock our farms, which had been entirely dismantled by the ravages of his officers. Moreover, to show the moderation of our demands, and to check the repetition of evasions, we sent our petition in writing, having corrected and modified it according to the

¹ [A hill in the outskirts of Paris, now part of the city.]

suggestions of his own Envoys ; so that it was obvious to all that we should refuse no conditions of peace which were not absolutely intolerable for the Church. When the petition had been presented, and, for its excessive moderation, approved by all, he made answer in his mother tongue, wrapping up his meaning in the phrases which he wields so skilfully, and contriving to introduce new and intolerable conditions, while to simple people he seemed to be conceding every thing. One thing, however, all acknowledge, that he refused the kiss of peace. On this point his most Christian Majesty said, that, unless the kiss was granted, he would not advise us to put a foot in England, though for a sum of gold equal to all he possessed. Earl Theobald added, that to do so would be mere folly : indeed every one present called to mind the fate of Robert de Silli, in whose case even the kiss had proved an insufficient security. But even this answer he did not think fit to convey to us, through the Bishops who had undertaken to mediate ; indeed he set out for Meaux while we remained in waiting.

* * * * *

“ We returned without an answer to the place of consolation provided for us by the Lord, casting all our hope on Him who deserteth not those that trust Him, and hoping anxiously for the return of your Lordship.”

Vivian's letter on this occasion, which gives a more particular account of the ambiguous offers¹ which the Archbishop alludes to, states, that the

¹ [On the subject of Church property Henry consented to allow the Archbishop “ to enjoy *his* possessions in peace,—those which his *predecessors* had enjoyed : thus excluding (by the latter clause) some estates that had reverted to the Church

old claims of the Council of Clarendon were introduced in a covert way. Henry insisted that the Archbishop should hold the property of his See on the same terms on which his predecessors had; *sicut habuerunt Antecessores sui*: the same proposal, only more stealthily expressed, which had been discussed before at the Conferences of Mountmirail, and rejected by the Archbishop, on account of its captiousness and ambiguity.

The following, addressed to his Envoys at Rome¹, was sent as a supplementary letter to the preceding one. It carries on the account to some time after the conference.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, TO JOHN AND
ALEXANDER, HIS CLERICS².

“From the letters which we have sent to his Lordship of Sens, you will learn what passed at the conference between the Kings at St. Denys, on the octave of St. Martin’s₃. Some few things however we omitted to mention, through fear of tediousness, and therefore send you these

during the present Archbishopric*, and had actually been held; and (by the former) those benefices and prebends which had fallen vacant during the Archbishop’s exile.” Vivian’s letter, Ep. iii. 62.]

¹ [Who had been sent up on the close of the former conference, (Gratian’s and Vivian’s.) Henry despatched Envoys at that time; and others at the close of the *present* proceedings, viz. the Archdeacons of Rouen and Seez, and John of Oxford. Ep. v. 18.]

² Ep. iii. 65.

³ Nov. 18.

* [The Archbishop had himself recovered them. “Tamen prius a Rege petitam obtinuerat licentiam, revocandi prædia Ecclesiæ Cantuarensis, a prædecessoribus suis male alienata vel a laicis occupata.” Fitz-Stephen, p. 28. This was very soon after his elevation.]

as a supplement, to be communicated to his Lordship *viva voce*.

“ Their Lordships of Rouen and Seez, who had undertaken to mediate, required that we should name expressly all such of the possessions of the See of Canterbury as we required to be restored. We answered that length of absence and the cessation of intercourse with England, had made it impossible for us to know what the King or his officers had alienated ; but that we required the restoration of every thing which had been held by our predecessor of blessed memory, Theobald, and which we ourself came in possession of, on our accession to the See of Canterbury, and which we held afterwards when we went to the Council of Tours, and always till the King began the persecution. And besides these, we demanded and do demand the land which was held of us by Henry of Essex ; for since, on his being disinherited, the land he held under the Crown escheated to the King, so ought those he held under the Archbishopric to us. We demand likewise the feud of William de Ros, which the King took from us, contrary to the oath he made to King Stephen on being adopted as his son, and as heir to the kingdom. For on that occasion he swore solemnly and publicly, that he would preserve to the Church all that his Lord and adopted Father had bestowed on it. Moreover, he has taken from us the land of Mundeham, and most unjustly and irreligiously bestowed it on John Mareschal, on whom and on his children, the intended heirs of this sacrilege, the Blessed Anselm, as you know, took vengeance ; for by the providence of God they all died shortly after. These three possessions then, viz. of Henry, of William, and that bestowed on John, we expressly demanded and do demand, choosing rather to remain in exile for ever than to buy peace with the goods of the Church.

“ The mediators expressed hopes of procuring the restitution of these possessions, but about the moveable goods they spoke less hopefully : yet his Lordship of Seez and M. Vivian asserted that, if the negotiation succeeded, 1000 marks should be paid me in lieu of them. We had demanded a moiety of the goods, leaving the rest to be decided by his Lordship the Pope, or a council of holy men.

* * * * *

“ The King is now so circumstanced, and has been so alarmed by the journey of his Lordship of Sens, and of Gratian, whose glory is spoken of in both kingdoms, that, whatever he may pretend and threaten, he would not dare to refuse anything, were his Lordship the Pope but to raise his hand against his continental dominions, and to dismiss his Envoys in disgrace.

“ He has lately sent Geoffrey Ridel to England to torment the Ecclesiastics, and extort nefarious oaths from them ; and this person, together with Richard, Archdeacon of Poitiers, and the other officers of State, have summoned all the Bishops to London in the King’s name, to give security that they will observe the King’s edict, and receive no messenger from his Lordship the Pope or ourself without the King’s permission, nor obey any Interdict, if such should be promulgated, nor pronounce any anathema against any of the King’s faithful subjects. However none of the Bishops, nor any Abbot, except that emissary of St. Augustine’s, chose to obey the summons. First of all his Lordship of Winchester publicly protested, and declared that, while he lived, he would through all things obey the Apostolic Decrees, and those of the Church of Canterbury, to which he has professed his fealty and obedience : also he has charged all his Clergy to do likewise. The Bishop of Exeter followed his example, prepared to obey in all things ; and has taken refuge in a religious

house till the storm of iniquity passes over. His Lordship of Norwich, though expressly forbidden in the King's name and in the presence of his officers, has nevertheless excommunicated Earl Hugo and the others, as he was instructed : on descending from the pulpit he placed his Pastoral staff upon the Altar, saying that he would see who dared extend a hand against the Church and its possessions. He has entered the Cloister, and is living with the brethren. So likewise his Lordship of Chester is ready to execute all orders ; and, to secure himself from the officers, has taken refuge in that part of his Diocese where the Welsh live.

“ From all this it is clear, that if his Lordship the Pope acts vigorously, and does not wilfully reject the Crown thus prepared for him by the Lord, he may now triumph in England to the glory of God and the everlasting honour of the Apostolic See. The impious one knows not where to turn himself, but, as those who are about him say, has everywhere before his eyes his Lordship of Sens, and that son of grace Gratian.

* * * * *

“ We have been lately solicited on the part of the King to go to him in Normandy : nor do we refuse, i. e. on condition that persons meet us on the confines sufficient to warrant our security.....If any talker presumes to find fault, because we hesitate to enter his territory without receiving the kiss of peace, let him call to mind the fate of Robert de Silli, for whom neither the kiss, nor yet the King's corporal oath made to the King of France proved a sufficient security ; and then, unless he is senseless, he will not consider this caution inexcusable.”

Henry, after the last meeting with Vivian and the Archbishop, appeared more inclined for a

peace¹; and his Envoys, despatched to Rome at that time, went with more moderate proposals than their predecessors had done². This gave rise to the design of another meeting, mentioned at the end of the preceding letter. Some of the Norman Bishops took advantage of Henry's alteration of temper for the time, to attempt to bring the two parties once more together: and a meeting was arranged to take place, at which the Archbishop of Tours was to preside as arbiter. Becket was prevailed on to give a promise of attendance; and he fulfilled his part, so far as the conduct of Henry permitted. But it so happened, that just at the time which was fixed for holding the meeting, Henry's Envoys made their appearance from Rome, with highly favourable reports of the concessions they had extorted. They asserted confidently that the Pope had agreed to the absolution of the Bishop of London, and the other excommunicates, and even promised to suspend the Archbishop himself. This was untrue at the time, though the result afterwards bore out their assertions, and proved that they had only anticipated the progress of things. Henry, however, was too much elated by the first reception of the news, to maintain ceremony any

¹ [“Nuper autem ad ejus pollicitationem spe reconciliationis pleniori suscepta,” &c. Ep. iv. 37, from which the account of the following affair is taken.]

² [“Secuti sunt alii nuncii ex parte Regis,—retractantes priorum petitiones, et dicentes Dominum Regem—formam pacis reformandæ, prorsus in Domini Papæ conferre arbitrium.” Ep. v. 18.]

longer. He immediately quitted the place of meeting, without waiting for the Archbishop, alleging that he was going to make arrangements for the coronation of his son¹. The latter, on hearing of his departure, had nothing to do but return immediately ; but he was a considerable way on his journey before the news reached him.

Afterwards he wrote to the Bishop of Auxerre², one of those who had urged him to attend, complaining, though without any harshness, of the persuasion which had brought him into so awkward a situation. "Following your advice," he says, "more than my own judgment, I took advantage, with all humility, of the opportunity there appeared of re-establishing peace ; and advanced with my fellow-exiles, whom I had brought together from various quarters, as far as Pontisare, much to our trouble and annoyance. There we received your letter, which made it evident how we had been deceived. I am resolved for the future that I will not believe every spirit, or impose upon my fellow-exiles, Christ's poor and proscribed ones, any more useless and expensive journeys. Had you believed the simple truth of my statements at the time, it would have been better for both of us. As it is, I have been made to appear a fool ; at whose persuasion, whose entreaty, you best know. I would not

¹ [Henry was in a course of negotiation now with the Court of Rome upon this subject. The account will appear in the next Chapter.]

² Ep. iv. 38.

appear ungrateful to you for your solicitude in God's service ; but this I would say, that both of us had better be more cautious in our arrangements for the future, and remember that words are only words."

The failure of this attempt, however, did not prevent a proposal of the same sort being repeated very shortly afterwards. Gerard Pucelle wrote to the Archbishop to make another trial, and attend a meeting at which the Bishop of Seez, and the Archdeacon of Canterbury¹ were to appear as Henry's delegates. It is needless to say that the offer was declined. Becket declared himself wearied with conference after conference ending in nothing, and would not expose himself unnecessarily to certain disappointment.

¹ [Ep. iv. 39. An unfortunate name to have selected on this occasion. Becket had the greatest aversion for him, and he in turn had been a most bitter and powerful opponent : besides that at this time he was excommunicate. The Archbishop in one place is indignant with Richard Barre, an Envoy of the King's, for associating with him : " Quod excommunicatis scienter communicaverunt, adeo ut præfatus Richardus *se contulerit ad Gaufredum Archidiaconum nostrum* : and in the same letter makes the charge, " Nam si Gaufredus *Archidiabolus* noster, et Reginaldus Saresberiensis, et Joannes de Oxenford, nomine et quæstu Decanus,—itemque complices eorum, Regis animum non pervertissent, Ecclesiæ pax, ut creditur, jam esset reformata." Ep. iii. 92. This was after the Conferences with Gratian and Vivian. Ep. iv. 39, which is from John of Salisbury to M. Gerard, blames the latter's having such connexion with excommunicates, as this proposal of his implied.]

CHAPTER XVIII.

ABSOLUTION OF THE BISHOP OF LONDON.

THE return of Gratian, accompanied by the Archbishop of Sens, to Rome, had thrown Henry for the time into considerable alarm, with respect to the result which their joint representations might have upon the Pope. This had been dispelled by the return of his Envoys, mentioned in the last chapter : but it was still doubtful what was the particular course in contemplation at the Roman Court, thus favourable to him. A short time showed that it was only the Pope's old expedient of an Embassy adopted again, and betraying rather more indecision and want of purpose than even former ones had ; if we are to judge from the characters of the persons appointed to it. These were the Archbishop of Rouen, the Bishop of Nivers, and the Archbishop of Sens : the latter however not formally or explicitly¹. His name is not mentioned in the official letters of appointment ; but on his re-

¹ [As was the case with F. Bernard, p. 370.]

turn to Rome, some time after the Embassy had commenced its labours, he was invested with some authority ; and Becket was told to defer to him in conjunction with the two others. He was a warm supporter of the Archbishop's cause, but the other two were persons of views decidedly opposite to it ; and had openly manifested their opposition only very lately, at the close of Gratian's and Vivian's Embassy¹. The Norman Bishops indeed, as a body, seem to have sided with Henry throughout the contest as strongly or more so than their brethren in England : so that the appearance of these two names was unquestionably well calculated, as it must have been designed, to give Henry satisfaction.

The instructions which the Pope gave were marked with the same ambiguity, being in themselves favourable to the Archbishop, but admitting of a lax interpretation in practice, and requiring therefore friendly Envoys in conjunction with them to be of any benefit. The course prescribed to the Envoys was : first, to insist on Henry's making good his offers of compensation, and giving the Archbishop the kiss of peace ; the latter, if the Archbishop insisted on receiving it ; but they were to persuade him, if possible, to consent to receive it from the son instead : secondly, if Henry refused to give way, then, within forty days after notice given, to lay his kingdom under an Interdict ; leave

¹ Page 447.

however being given to delay the sentence, if he showed any signs of improvement. With respect to the excommunicates, they were commissioned to absolve them, if a "certain hope" appeared of a reconciliation: on the understanding, however, that they were to be placed in their former state again, if no reconciliation ensued¹.

On this appointment being made, Becket endeavoured to give it a good direction; and wrote a letter of advice to the Bishop of Nivers, how to act in his new situation.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, TO THE BISHOP OF NIVERS, UNDER A FEIGNED NAME. (PROPTER INSIDIAS².)

"May the Lord direct your Lordship's steps, that in the cause of the Church for which you are now commissioned to act, you turn aside neither to the right hand nor to the left, but walk in the royal way; so that he, whose snares none, who have yet come in contact with him, have escaped, may not either by solicitations or threats, or iniquitous subtleties, prevail against your Lordship's Wisdom and Sincerity.

"Unless I am deceived, your Lordship will have to *fight with beasts*; for, if he perceives that with promises and smooth words he is unable to circumvent you, he will bring forth his Bishops and Abbots and wise men to assail your constancy.

"And since you will not easily detect the varied guises

¹ ["Verum si *certain spem* de pace et reconciliatione facienda conceperitis," &c. Ep. v. 3: the Pope's letter to the Archbishop of Rouen and Bishop of Nivers.]

² Ep. v. 12.

of this prodigy, look with suspicion on all he says, every shape he assumes,—always believe a fraud to be intended, unless his acts manifestly vouch for his sincerity. If he once finds, that either by threats or promises he can make an impression upon you, and carry any point that tends to compromise your Lordship or the cause, that very instant you will lose all authority in his eyes, and become a jest to him and his Court. If, however, he finds that he cannot divert you from your purpose, first of all he will put on a violent rage, he will swear and forswear, and imitate Proteus ; but at last will return to himself, and from that time forward, unless by your own mismanagement, you will be for a God unto Pharaoh.

“ This man makes it his especial boast among his private friends, that he can see into character, and take hold of good persons in their weak points. He is quick at catching up inconsiderate expressions, and immediately calls on witnesses, and complaining of ill treatment, excuses himself for receding from his engagements. For this reason, in all your interviews with him, you must be studiously courteous and measured in your words, saying no more than is absolutely necessary. Bring together the points to be discussed, and insist on a definite answer to each. Above all things avoid delays, which are his favourite resource, but which his Holiness’s Instructions do not in this instance allow. You will do well to keep this advice a secret from all ; for there are scorpions among those who profess friendship.

“ In your discussions you will do well to follow the course marked out in the Pope’s letter to the King. (1.) His Holiness begins by stating that he has been certified by the King’s messengers, that the King had conceded to the Archbishop of Canterbury a safe return to his Church, and to his co-exiles a restitution of their possessions, such

as they were before the King withdrew his favour. (2.) The next point is, that the King must receive the Archbishop to the kiss of peace; a ceremony common to all nations and religions, and without which quarrels are never permanently made up. By the vicarious kiss of the Prince, the Archbishop would appear rather to have made peace with the son than the father,—a notion, which if it once took possession of the multitude, must obviously give a ready handle to calumny. Moreover, if, which God avert, any thing were to befall the Archbishop, the denial of the kiss would seem to exempt the King from infamy. Remember Robert de Silli and the others, who made their peace at the intervention of his most Christian Majesty. If the kiss publicly given then, and the reverence due to such a mediator were unavailing, it is scarcely marvellous that the Archbishop should insist somewhat on this precaution.

“Should the King hesitate to acquiesce in either of the aforesaid conditions, if your Lordship pleases, and if you wish for success, you will at once accept your passport, and, unless he recalls you by acquiescing in the Apostolic Mandate, return without delay. If he acquiesces, then specify by name the possessions which are expressed in the schedule, and admit none of the deceits and tales with which he will try to mutilate the Church’s goods. Should he take from it but one foot’s pace, the Archbishop cannot consent to peace: seeing that he would rather remain under proscription for ever, than be a party to the proscription of the Church. Should the King flinch here likewise, you will at once avail yourself of the occasion and return.

“The third point in the Pope’s letter is, that the King forthwith restore the 1000 marks which he promised the Archbishop through M. Vivian, so that he may have wherewith to provide himself and his followers with the

necessaries for their journey. Should he deny the promise, call to his mind that at Montmartre the Bishop of Seez, who was not likely to have exceeded his commission, promised to the same effect. If he still obstinately refuses, let him find that his own forehead, hardened as it is, is not harder than your Lordship's. Before you quit this point, make such preparations for your departure, that all may suppose you mean to re-cross the water. But if it shall appear still that he will not yield, make a merit of condescending to the King and allowing this point to stand over, but, in no wise conceding it, accept peace, on the terms before specified. Your Lordship is aware from the Pope's letters that you have no authority to remit this money, inasmuch as you are required, after the restoration of peace, to insist on the entire restitution of all the seized goods, and the repeal of the perverse Usages. For, as it is expressed in the letters to the King, his Lordship the Pope has commissioned you to execute the peace, for the bettering of the condition of the Church, and the protection of the Archbishop and his. So that in this matter you have no authority whatever.

“ The fourth point concerns the absolution of the excommunicates, in which matter two things must be carefully attended to. (1.) It is to be granted on no account except with the certain hope of reconciliation. (2.) No one is to be absolved unless he formally and publicly takes the oath required in the Apostolic Mandate: otherwise you have no authority to absolve at all. But how are you to obtain this certain hope from a man whose oaths are no more to be trusted than his words? This is no easy matter; and yet if you can procure that any of the Nobles of the realm, or even any one of them, shall, by the King's command, make oath that the terms of the peace shall be executed without fraud or subterfuge, and if the Bishops

make themselves sureties for it, perhaps this semblance of certainty, poor as it would be, might be accepted for the time. If he cannot be prevailed on to give this security, let him be required to write the Archbishop letters patent, with his seal affixed to them, and likewise to his Lordship the Pope to the same effect, and to yourself likewise, so that you may not be chargeable with any omissions, or with having yielded too easy credence to one whom it is unsafe to trust. Moreover, he must consign to your Lordship, and through you to the deputies of the Archbishop, all the possessions of the Church, and withdraw his satellites from them. These acts, though by no means sure precursors of peace, inasmuch as he feels no difficulty in receding from his written engagements, and may again, as he has done heretofore, eject the deputies of the Archbishop, yet as they afford expectation of something better, may be regarded as promises of ‘certain hope;’ and at any rate, if obtained, will exempt your Lordship from any imputation of light conduct. But if the King refuses to pledge himself by writing, or to cede the possessions, it remains that your Lordship ought not to conceive a ‘certain hope,’ nor consequently proceed to absolution. For, even though they were absolved, you are bound by the Apostolic Mandate to replace them under their former sentence, in case peace does not follow.

“ If I have any correct knowledge of the man, his first point will be the absolution of those persons : he will refuse to hear any one, or do any thing, till his friends are absolved. Till he has carried this, he will perhaps affect moderation, hold out great expectations, and, as if under the influence of religious feeling, will confess sin, to obtain credit for innocence, and expose spots in his conscience which he can easily wipe out by affected virtues. But, immediately as it is granted, he will resume his inveterate

hardness, and, much as he before entreated, will now show himself inaccessible to entreaty. Your Lordship may be persuaded of this by the example of Gratian and Vivian, to whom he bound himself by his corporal oath, that, if they would absolve the excommunicates, he would submit himself to their counsels in making peace with the Archbishop: yet on their absolution he immediately retracted all, and conducted himself as if no word had passed on the subject; and for this reason the persons absolved were replaced under sentence, and that so much the more justly, inasmuch as they wickedly impeded the peace in the hope of which they had been absolved. Be careful therefore not to rush hastily to absolution, without certifying yourself that peace will follow; and when you grant it, if indeed you grant it at all, exact the oath from them according to your instructions, and denounce to them that, unless they act conformably to it, no subterfuge or appeal shall shelter them from a renewal of their sentence. Meanwhile carefully avoid all communion with them, so that you give no offence to the weak, causing your ministry to be blamed, nor give spirits to the contemptuous enemies of Church discipline.

“If the King requires that the Archbishop enter his territory to receive his possessions in person, and the kiss of peace, demand in the meanwhile, what can easily be effected in his absence, that the officers of the Church shall be allowed to enter upon his houses and lands, and make the necessary preparations against his return: also that some of the Nobles of the realm, I doubt not the Bishops would readily undertake this, be commissioned by the King to meet the Archbishop, and to give him safe conduct, so that no impediment may interfere with the fulfilment of the terms of peace which your Lordships shall agree

upon. Without these preliminaries, the Archbishop will on no account hold any conference with the King.

“ Lastly, should it come to pass, which your Lordship’s wisdom and firmness forbid me to imagine, that the King, either by deceit or force, shall prevail on your Lordship to exceed your instructions, and to compromise the Church, your Lordship may hold it for surer than certain that the Archbishop will ratify no one of your acts, nor accede to the counsel of any mortal man in opposition to his own conscience. Your Lordship is on no account to absolve Earl Hugo, who is in no way implicated in this cause. Moreover, beware that the King does not protract this business beyond the period of your commission, for after this your interference will be nugatory.

“ When your Lordship crosses the water, you will do well to leave behind you the original letters of your commission, and to take with you copies, for persons are on the look out in all the harbours to seize all papers of this description. Your Lordship is in possession of the originals, and the King has received notice of your commission from his Holiness; nor is it necessary or even expedient that he should at first be acquainted with the exact sense of your instructions. Also inasmuch as it is possible, that through fear of an impending sentence he may place difficulties in the way of your leaving England, it will be requisite, if your Lordship pleases, and if you are anxious as you are bound to be for the success of the cause, that you write to the Bishops on this side the water, in the form prescribed by his Holiness, commanding them that, when the term allowed to the King has expired, they will forbid the celebration of all Divine Offices through their respective Dioceses, and that you commit the letters so written to his Lordship of Sens, who, when occasion requires, will take good care to give them due publicity. It

will have great weight with the King if he is once convinced that, whatever happens to your Lordships, the continental Bishops will have no choice but to execute the Apostolic Mandate.

“In all your dealings with the aforesaid King you will do well to keep before your mind the Brethren of the Temple and of the hospital of Jerusalem, the Cardinals and Envoys of the Pope, the monks of Chartreux and Grammont, and Citeaux, and Bishops of the realm, each of whom, as they severally came in contact with him, have in some measure lent themselves to his views, and in return have been held up by him, though in most cases unfairly, to infamy.

“If he asks, whether, on his recalling the Archbishop on the terms prescribed, he is to be secured against all farther question on the score of his rapines and other injustice, intimate to him that neither your Lordship, nor any other, has power to absolve or pardon him until he repents.”

The absolution of the excommunicates took place even sooner than the Archbishop anticipated. The Envoys, taking the fullest advantage of their instructions on this head, made it their first act, with the view of impressing the King favourably to begin with, and thus clearing their course of difficulties. As Becket predicted, it had in the event quite the opposite effect. The King having gained a point that he was interested in, and perhaps, as Becket hinted, despising the Envoys in consequence, flew off from his engagements, and evaded for a long time all attempts to bring him to a conference.

The Bishop of London in the meantime was not

included in this general absolution, owing to the strong remonstrances of the Archbishop, through his envoys and others¹, which the Pope did not think fit altogether to disregard, though Foliot himself was now at the Court, pressing his suit. Becket, from the time of his passing sentence on the latter, seems to have felt his cause to be deeply implicated in it, and to have impressed this idea upon others. Nor is this remarkable in the case of such a person as Foliot, who had in fact been the Archbishop's great antagonist in the contest, and from being the constant though secret inspiriter of Henry from the first, had lately thrown off the mask, and openly avowed his aim at subverting the present Ecclesiastical state of things in the country, and setting up himself as Metropolitan. The rise of such an opponent could not but cause a proportionate fall in the Archbishop's influence and hopes. And accordingly the Pope, on being pressed in the way mentioned, had consented, after giving instructions for a general absolution, to say, that a special leave from himself should be necessary in the Bishop of London's case; a concession however which did not long hold out against the latter's

¹ [‘*Petitiones vestræ debitum sortitæ sunt effectum. Cæterum Londoniensi firmiter injunctum est a Domino Papa, ut sententiam quam in eum dedistis, firmam et inconcussam observet; nec a Rothomagensi et Lexoviensi, quibus super hoc iterato scribit Dominus Papa, nisi forte ab eisdem, post susceptionem priorum literarum ipsius quas inde susceperunt, præstito secundum Ecclesiæ formam juramento, sit absolutus, absque Domini Papæ Mandato nullatenus absolvatur.*’ Ep. iv. 48.]

personal weight and powerful interest in the Papal Court. A letter was soon procured, directing the Envoys to give the Bishop absolution, on his return from Rome : the Pope ordering it at the same time to be kept secret, professedly out of regard to the interests of the absolved himself¹, but probably dreading in reality, more for his own sake than the Bishop's, the protests and remonstrances which would forthwith arrive, as his former experience would tell him, against the concession ; and thinking perhaps, that he was qualifying the pain of the measure to Becket himself, by the concealment of his rival's success. The Archbishop of Rouen, on receiving the order, hurried the execution of it in an irregular way ; performing it² in the absence of his colleague³, in opposition to the Pope's in-

¹ [“*Donec absque ipsius Episcopi periculo valeat propalari.*” (Ep. v. 15.) This mention of Foliot's advantage could have been little more than a pretence on the Pope's part to induce him to keep silence ; as we find, in matter of fact, that the former did not consider such silence to be at all to his advantage. There was however an apparent reason for it, in the condition annexed to the absolution, viz. ‘that he (Foliot) would obey any mandate of the Pope's afterwards, with respect to the charges which had caused his sentence.’ Becket's party, on hearing of the absolution, might demand the enforcement of this condition. The Archbishop's fellow-exiles take this view of the matter in their letter afterwards to Gratian, and charge the Pope with an attempt to conceal the above condition :—‘*Sed dicitur eos jurasse, quod stabunt Mandato Domini Papæ, idque præcipitur occultari, ne forte innotescat aliquid pro Ecclesia gestum, quod ad ipsius pertinere honestatem.*’ Ep. v. 23.]

² [The absolution took place on Easter day.]

³ [The Bishop of Nivers, from the fact of Becket's letter of advice being addressed to him, seems to have been regarded just now as the more friendly Envoy of the two.]

structions. Becket notices this in his answer to that Envoy's letter, which had announced the affair¹.

“Returning you all thanks,” he says, “for the affectionate concern you bear in our behalf, we nevertheless wish that in the matter of the Bishop of London's absolution, your solicitude had not overstepped our Lord the Pope's mandate. The extent of your Commission in absence of your colleague is doubtless known to you, and should have been observed; more especially when that absence was caused by the said colleague not being summoned; so that you could not certify to a case of inability on his part to attend, which alone could justify one of you in acting without the other. But why do we linger upon this subject? You know what your act was, and we, by God's help, know what your instructions were. As to your enjoining secrecy however, how is it possible to procure secrecy? Let those manage it who think they can: we doubt it; seeing that, before your mandate reached us, the news was cried in the streets in your parts; and circulated here with the utmost activity by the Bishop of London himself, who has since also celebrated divine service in our Church with all solemnity².”

Foliot's absolution had the effect, at the time, of extinguishing the Archbishop's last hope of assistance from the Roman Court, the weakness or indifference of which it rendered so conspicuous; while,

¹ Ep. v. 16.

² Ep. v. 19.

as the triumph of so great an adversary, it was more calculated perhaps, than any concession which had yet been made, to lower his position in the eyes of his opponents, and was in every respect a most serious and discouraging blow. The Archbishop himself seems to have regarded it as a kind of turning point in the contest, and, though far from having entertained other than unfavourable expectations at any time, to have adopted them now with a greater feeling of certainty and foresight. Nor afterwards, when the Roman Court came to adopt a firmer tone, and to espouse his cause with some alacrity, did he at all relax his views in this respect, or allow himself to accept its assistance. He had already marked out his future course. And, as a necessary consequence of this, a little observation will detect in his letters and course of action from this time, an alteration to a more passive, and as it were, indifferent frame of mind; while the opposite side will be seen advancing in boldness, and pursuing their aggressions with more openness and determination than ever.

The following is his comment on the absolution, addressed to Cardinal Albert.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, TO CARDINAL ALBERT¹.
SOON AFTER EASTER

“ I would, my beloved, that your ears were within hearing of my countrymen, and that you knew the contemptu-

¹ Ep. v. 20.

ous sayings against the Church of Rome which are being chanted in the street of Ascalon !

“ My last Envoys, on their return from the Apostolic See, appeared to have brought back some consolation in the letters of his Holiness¹ : but the authority of these has been voided by new letters sent ‘ a Latere,’ that Satan might be absolved to the injury of the Church. By an Apostolic Mandate, absolution has been granted to the Bishops of London and Salisbury, one of whom has been the instigator of Schism, and from the first has urged on as well Salisbury, as all others under his influence, to the crime of disobedience.

“ I know not by what fortune it has come to pass, that the side of the Lord is always sacrificed at the Court of Rome : Barabbas escapes, and Christ is crucified. By the authority of the Court, our exile and the sufferings of the Church have been protracted to the end of the sixth year. Your Lordships have condemned the wretched and homeless, and for no other reason, I speak it from my conscience, than because they are feeble and Christ’s little ones, and will not recede from the justice of the Lord : on the other hand you have absolved the sacrilegious, the murderer, the robber, persons who have not repented, and whose absolution, I say it freely, Christ being my authority, would not hold in the sight of God, though it were St. Peter that pronounced it. In the Gospel, according to St. Luke, our Lord commands, that ‘ if thy brother sin against thee, rebuke him, and if he is penitent forgive it him ; and if seven times a day he sin against thee, and seven times a day he turn to thee, saying, I repent, forgive it him.’ Think you the words of Christ are idle where he says, ‘ if he is penitent,’ and ‘ if he turn to thee, saying, I

¹ [Which excepted the Bishop of London from the general absolution. Ep. iv. 48, gives the news of these being obtained.]

repent?' Surely in the day of judgment He will not admit His words were idle, nor will He pass over those uncondemned, who, against the form He prescribes, presume by vain absolution to justify the wicked, without confession or penitence, and to save alive the souls that should not live....

"And now I have done. For the rest, I commit to God his own cause, that God for whom I am proscribed and exiled. Let Him act by me as He sees best. It is my intention to give the Court no farther trouble in this matter. Let those seek its protection who are so strong in their iniquity, and who, after trampling justice under foot and leading innocence captive, return glorying in the shame of the Church.....

"May your Holiness fare well, and be mindful of me before the Lord¹."

¹ [He wrote to the same effect to Gratian (Ep. v. 21)—'Cui (Deo) de cætero curæ sit et nostri misereri, et Ecclesiæ, quam Apostolica Sedes exponit, tueri libertatem. Nos ex Proposito Curiam non vexabimus, sed causam cedemus illis, quorum ibi acceptatur iniquitas, et qui venalitatem ejus prædicant, et cantitant in plateis.' There are also two letters from Becket's fellow-exiles on this subject, to the same persons (v. 22, 23); the former with this address: 'Sanctissimo Domino, et Patri Charissimo Alberto, Dei gratia S. R. E. Presbytero Cardinali, miseri Cantuarienses totum id modicum quod relictum est Exulibus et Proscriptis, sinceræ fidei et veræ dilectionis affectum.' After mentioning the Absolutions, they proceed: 'In quo timendum est, ne seductus Sanctus (the Pope) erraverit nimis, adeo ut quod in Ecclesiam Dei deliquit, etiam cum voluerit, nequeat emendare. Sic solet Deus talia plerumque punire delicta, ut qui Divinitus oblata gerendorum opportunitate non utitur, eadem illi in perpetuum auferatur. Scrutanti legem loquimur et scienti, qui, quod dicitur, sibi familiaribus clarum habet exemplis. Etsi tamen, ut culpam suam, quam sic magis auget, purgare Curia videatur, in Nuncios nostros retorquet, quod Ecclesiæ Dei, de tam manifestis injuriis et damnis Justitia non sit exhibita. Ergo quasi re bene gesta consulunt, *ut sapientiores mittamus.*—

Non sunt in nobis, Pater, sapientes illi, quos quærun, non potentes aut divites, quos semper contra Ecclesiam Dei et nos habere locum videmus in Curia, ut assidue redeant cum triumpho.—Nobiscum de pace Ecclesiæ tractabatur, cum Joannes de Oxenford Romam proficiscens, perjurio rediit triumphator.—Ab ea die proscriptio nostra, quæ antea soli Regi et suis poterat imputari, Ecclesiam Romanam dissimulatione vel consensu authorem habuit.—Et nobis, si quid solatii videbatur esse porrectum, statim è Latere Nunciis aut literis impediabatur, ne votivum aut debitum sortiretur effectum.’ At the conclusion of the letter to Gratian they allude obviously to the suspicious deaths of some of their former Envoys at the Roman Court: ‘Cum ergo pars nostra ab initio prosecuta sit appellationes omnes, et se singulis annis obtulit diffugiente parte adversa, et illa plus profecerit in malitia sua, quam nos in innocentia et Justitia nostra, quis sani capitis audebit suadere, ut hæc ulterius præstigia consecremur? Quæ est utilitas in tot laboribus, et expensis, et sanguine innocentium, qui pro Testamento Dei animas posuerunt? Utique non est nobis tanti delusionibus vexari in Curia sine fructu, ut nos qui residui sumus, velimus sine causa morientium esse consortes, sed Deo causam suam potius committimus dirigendam. Si quis enim nostrum conventus fuerit, ut ad Curiam iter arripiat,

Olim quod vulpes ægroto cauta leoni
Respondit; *quia me vestigia terrent*
Omnia te adversum spectantia, nulla retrorsum.

Et iter hoc, donec spes profectus aliunde luceat, detestabitur.’]

CHAPTER XIX.

CORONATION OF THE PRINCE.

HENRY, in the meantime, so early as the latter part of the preceding year, had come to the resolution of giving up his crown to his son ; and was now beginning to make arrangements for an immediate coronation. The resolution had been undoubtedly formed chiefly with a view to the management of the present contest, and the defence of his kingdom from the dangers of an Interdict, though other political reasons may have conspired to influence him. The former was at any rate what he looked to, in choosing this particular time for carrying the scheme into effect ; the advantages, he proposed to himself in it, being, that it would disconnect him nominally with his Kingdom, and so secure the latter from any spiritual censures which might be incurred personally by himself, in his proceedings with the Archbishop. Of course the formal act of placing his son upon the throne, made no difference in Henry's actual power, and left him as much sole and undisputed King, as he had ever been ; as his subsequent conduct shows.

The rights however of the See of Canterbury, which he was not prepared at first, in so public and solemn a way to infringe, had prevented him hitherto from putting this design into execution. The performance of the ceremony of coronation had belonged from time immemorial to the Archbishops of that See; and though Henry had tried in the preceding year to set this right aside, and instructed his Envoys at the Roman Court to apply for leave to have his son crowned by other hands¹, he had been unable to obtain any countenance to his scheme; more especially as the Archbishop insisted on his privilege, and remonstrated strongly against the innovation. Shortly before the present time, the Pope had lodged in Becket's hands letters² to the Bishops, prohibiting them, and specially the Archbishop of York, from doing anything to the prejudice of the Church of Canterbury in this matter. Becket however delayed forwarding them for some time; and when at last they did find their way into the country, they were destroyed almost immediately by the party against whom they were directed. The consequence was, that in the absence of this positive evidence to disprove their assertion,

¹ [Becket charges Reginald of Salisbury with having instigated the King here,—‘Suggessit etiam Regi Anglorum hujusmodi petitiones facere Domino Papæ, ut alicui Episcopo in Anglia committeret auctoritatem coronandi filium ipsius Regis Cui cum respondisset Rex, se, ut credebatur, a Domino Papa petitiones illas non posse impetrare, respondit Reginaldus: *Dominus Papa ut stolidus et fatuus aget, nisi petitionibus tuis satisfecerit.*’ Ep. iii. 67.]

² Ep. iv. 41, 42. They are dated Feb. 26.

the Bishop of London and the Archbishop of York gave out that they had obtained the Pope's consent to the coronation being performed by the hands of the latter, or any other Bishop. The Bishops however, as a body, were obviously disinclined to implicate themselves, so far as to take any personal part in the ceremony; one Norman prelate only, the Bishop of Seez, declaring that if no one else would perform it, he would¹.

The Pope's Envoys, meantime, were loitering on their embassy, though aware of Henry's intentions; and, after the absolution of the Bishop of London, seemed indifferent to farther objects; though the very design of that concession was professedly only to bring the King more readily to terms. The Archbishop of Sens, who was in the Pope's confidence, wrote to complain of their slowness; and in consequence of this remonstrance, fresh instructions of a very definite kind were sent down for them². They were ordered within twenty days to bring the King to a conference; and if he declined, or evaded, then within forty more to lay his

¹ [*Inhibueratis quidem, ne fieret, sed illi e contrario gloriantur se obtinuisse a vobis, ut fiat, sive manu Eboracensis Archiepiscopi, sive cujuscumque Episcopi ministerio Rex voluerit. Et quia hoc detrectant Episcopi Provinciæ nostræ, Sagiensis Episcopus, Signifer eorum, qui Deum non verentur, se hoc, si alii defuerint, de familiari Mandato vestro gloriatur esse facturum. Jam ex hac caussa transfretavit. Spinis sepiat, quoniam aliunde non est auxilium, Dominus vias ejus.* Ep. v. 24, the Archbishop to the Pope. This was after the Bishop of London's absolution.]

² Ep. v. 4.

Kingdom under an Interdict. Becket, to whom these letters were given in the first instance, seems unaccountably to have kept them by him, and neglected forwarding them to the Envoys; for which John of Salisbury afterwards blames him¹, though it is not probable that his doing so would have made any difference. In this state of things, the following letter comes from a friend at Caen, acquainted with the English news.

TO THE ARCHBISHOP, FROM A FRIEND AT CAEN².

ABOUT JUNE 9.

“On the first Sunday the King will be in London, where he has summoned the Archbishop of York, and all the Bishops of England, and the Barons from all parts of his dominions to meet him.

“On that day the Archbishop is to crown the King’s son, while his wife, the daughter of the King of France, is left at Caen as if in disrespect to her father. The boy will most certainly be crowned on the day I mention, unless the Lord pleases to shut the sea against his voyage, or to bind the hands of the Archbishop³, or unless the King of France puts an effective inhibition on it. The boy is now on his way to the sea, and his father is waiting for him on the opposite shore. He is attended, under the King’s command, by the Bishops of Baieux and Seez. Richard de Humet is not to go. The Queen remains at

¹ [‘Memineritis quantum periculum et infortunium ad se traxerit mora porrigendi conventionales Archi-Episcopo Rothomagensi, et Episcopo Nivernensi, et item prohibitorias Eboracensi Archi-Episcopo et Episcopis transmarinis.’ Ep. v. 42. The latter refers to what was mentioned above.]

² Ep. v. 11.

³ Of York.

Caen till the arrival of the joyous news. The Pope's letters to forbid this consecration crossed the sea long since, but to no purpose ; they were destroyed in the hands of the messenger, without being published or shown to any one¹. Know for certain that this business is to take place without delay ; and that, even though York should shrink from taking part in it, yet the hangman of Seez would lay on his bloody hands.

“ All this is levelled at your Lordship, not only to delay peace, but to cut off from you all hope. Richard of Worcester, who came here the other day to hasten the boy's departure, and at once returned with him, assured me that the King would use every means to delay reconciliation, and that, if other resources failed, rather than make peace, he would disregard not merely his Lordship the Pope, but God Himself, to his dying day. Hope not therefore in the days of wickedness, neither yield credence to those Templars who walk not in simplicity, but study to serve the King rather than your Lordship, and who are nothing more than the false agents of this father of falsehood. All the King's dealings with you are craft and wickedness.....

“ But what will be the conduct of the King of France, whose daughter has been thus insulted, and, as it were, deprived of her share in the kingdom ? Perhaps he will not be moved, that too just Monarch ; nor will avenge his own injury and his child's, but rather will perish in his justice. I speak respectfully, as of the anointed of the Lord ; yet what stand would he make for the crown of

¹ [John of Salisbury, in a letter to the Monks of St. Augustine, calls upon them to redeem their past neglect of the Archbishop, by publishing this mandate, copies of which he says had reached the country, but had found no one bold enough to deliver them. If no copy was to be had, they were to appeal instead. Ep. iv. 36.]

France, when he so readily cedes his interest in the crown of England? One only course is left, as well for him as your Lordship. He must at once send Envoys to the Queen and Richard de Humet, to forbid in his name all further proceedings, and in case any thing farther is done, to give his defiance. This will terrify Richard and the Queen, and they will send to the King and prevent his designs.

“From the King of France or your Lordship no messenger could now obtain access to the King. If he carried letters from the Pope he would be committed to prison; if from the King of France, he would be honourably received, but detained till the King was in possession of his object. Hasten therefore to the King of France, taking with you his Lordship of Sens, and do what you can to obstruct this injurious project.

“For the rest, Thomas, the new Archdeacon of Bath, has lately come from the King to the Archbishop of Rouen, and has prevailed on the Bishop of Nivers to delay his embarkation¹ till Sunday, stating publicly, as others are in the habit of doing, that the King is on the point of coming here. This however is most false. In the meantime his Lordship of Nivers is marching with the pace of an ant from house to house, through the Bishoprics and Abbeys and royal residences, towards Mont St. Michael. In his train are six and thirty horses, whereas in his own country he would be contented with fifteen. It is evident to all, that he thirsts more after the King’s money than your Lordship’s interest. This indeed he plainly showed at Caen, where he arrived the Friday after the octave of Pentecost²; for the King’s son had only just left the

¹ [The object of his crossing was to bring Henry to a conference.]

² June 5.

place, and, if the Bishop of Nivers had wished, he might easily have crossed the sea in his company; however he was told either that the King would shortly arrive there himself, or would send a royal vessel for his conveyance; thus he was entrapped (in ignorance of the habits of your nation) and plain it is that the cause of God cannot prosper at his hands. And yet if he understood their craft, and made all haste to the sea, he would be told that his colleague the Archbishop ought to go first, while he awaited the King's answer; or, if he still insisted on going, he would find there shipping indeed, and masts and sails, but not a pilot would he be able to procure; all of them would either keep out of his way, or would say they knew nothing about the navigation, or would swear that the wind was contrary. If the Bishop really wished to do any thing, he would have gone through Flanders.

“Your Lordship must forthwith despatch a messenger to him with letters from the King of France, and his Lordship of Sens, bidding him demand from the Queen, at Caen, the means of crossing the water. If she refuse, bid him at once return to your Lordship, and what he is to do let him do quickly. For the future, my Lord, spare them not, but pour forth your whole energy,—unsheath your whole sword. The eye of the King will not look friendly on you again for ever. But may the eye of Divine goodness look friendly on you, and on the sheep of His pasture, and may He see fit to confer upon His Church, not a peace with earth's princes, but a triumph over them! Farewell, and, though wickedness is increased, fear not; for the Lord upholdeth you with His hand.”

The King, however, receiving no interruption from the Archbishop, proceeded with despatch in the execution of his design. The increase of vigour

and resolution in the Pope's counsels, which had suggested the last instructions to the Envoys, could not of course be wholly unknown to him: and consequently his great stay and encouragement, hitherto, seeming likely to fail him, the necessity was becoming every day greater of adopting some summary method of terminating the contest; a consideration which of course made it so much the more expedient, to put himself, as far as could be, in a situation of freedom and security, by the surrender of his crown to his son. Accordingly the next letter from Caen brought the news of the young Prince's coronation.

TO THE ARCHBISHOP, FROM A FRIEND AT CAEN¹.

JUNE 14.

“When the Sunday was over, the King presented his son in London with the military belt, and immediately after the Archbishop of York anointed him as King. Then the King divided his territory among his sons.—All are wondering what he will do next.

“He causes his return to Normandy to be talked of daily, to create alarm. But he certainly will not come while this outfit of clothes, carriages, servants, &c., is going on for the daughter of the King of France, who is still with the Queen at Caen, that she may be ready to cross the water when sent for. All this is done that the King of France may hear, and so feel less indignant at the slight lately passed upon his daughter. No command is

¹ Ep. v. 33.

given for her actually to set out, but only to be in readiness for setting out when the King sends for her. Perhaps they intend to defraud your Lordship of the consecration of the girl, as they have done of the boy; but, however openly they were to do this, your Lordship should on no account make yourself an impediment to the anointing of the King of France's daughter. Nor about the anointing of the boy have you any great right to complain,—it was your Lordship's fault for not sending the letters which might have prevented it.

“ Avoid passing any sentence against the King or your Bishops, as long as there is any chance of peace; but bear patiently till the arrival either of the day of peace and rejoicing, or the day of wrath and anger. Yet I do not imagine that peace will ever be effected for you through his Lordship of Nivers: he affects to talk much in the King's favour, and has openly told me that, if the King would yield to your wishes in the matter of the kiss, every thing else might be conceded to him: he also rebuked me for speaking on your Lordship's side against the King. I am well assured that your cause will not prosper in his hands. Indeed your devoted friend, the Archdeacon of Bourges¹, has left him on that account.

“ The Bishop is at Maatam, and will stay there fifteen days, waiting for the King: if the King does not arrive within that time, he will return to the sea through Normandy, to act as he has hitherto done, as King's Proctor, and to make farther delays. However he has demanded of the Queen and Richard de Humet, that they would take off the restrictions which have been imposed on the shipping on his account, and allow him a free passage. They refused; and most certainly the Bishop ought to count

¹ M. Lombard.

the days¹ from this open act of contempt and disobedience, but he will not. He held a friendly conversation with the Queen, and granted her the delay she wished. Beware, my Lord, lest those, who are now at enmity with one another, find for themselves a means of reconciliation in your death. Also beware whom you trust. If your Lordship thinks well of this man, you differ from every one else that sees him. Also make all haste to have some conversation with him yourself, and take with you his Lordship of Sens; charge him either to execute his commission at once or to lay it down; and oblige him to make his way to the sea not through Normandy but Flanders.

“In the meantime proceed to no sentence, unless indeed you have powers to pass one against the Archbishop of York. His Lordship of Worcester², that attached son

¹ [The forty days mentioned in the Pope's letter, as the time that was to be allowed to Henry previous to pronouncing an Interdict.]

² [The Bishop of Worcester seems to have been the only Bishop who made any protest against this unauthorized proceeding. Fitz-Stephen gives the following account of what passed between him and Henry:—"The King" (having come to the resolution of crowning his son) "ordered the Bishop of Worcester, then on the other side of the water, to return, and attend, with the few other Bishops that remained in England, at the coronation; not letting him know that the Archbishop of York was to perform it. The Bishop, hoping the best, consented, and went to Dieppe in order to cross. The King had by this time returned to England, but the Queen staid behind in Normandy. She and Richard Humet, Chief Justiciary of Normandy, sent letters to the Bishop of Worcester at the above-named port, forbidding him to cross; as also to the Warden, the masters of vessels, and others there, to prevent their taking him over; for they knew that he would never permit the Prince to be crowned by the Archbishop of York, in the province of Canterbury, while the Archbishop, to whom that office appertained, was alive. So the Bishop being prevented crossing, remained behind. After the Coronation the King returned to

of the Church of Canterbury, has not yet crossed the water, but he is zealous for the honour and liberty of the Church.

Normandy, and the Bishop went out and met him on the road, about three miles from Falaise. The King looked black, and broke out at once into contumelious language to him. 'You are a traitor,' he said, 'evidently. I told you to be present at my son's coronation, and mentioned the day; but you have chosen not to go, wherein you show plainly that you care neither for mine, nor my son's interests. It is plain you favour my adversary, and hold me and mine in hatred. But you shall not enjoy the revenues of your Bishopric any longer. I will take them from you, for you have proved yourself unworthy of a Bishopric, or any benefice whatever. Truly you were never the son of the good Earl, my uncle, who brought us up in that Castle together, and had us first taught our letters and behaviour.' The Bishop, conscious of his innocence, told the King what had happened simply and modestly; how he had gone to the port, and was prevented crossing by the letters he received. The King would not believe him however, but in great passion replied, 'The Queen is in the Castle of Falaise yonder, and Richard de Humet either is there or will be soon. Will you stand by their story?' 'Certainly not the Queen's,' said the Bishop; 'for if out of respect for you, or from fear, she should suppress the truth, it would make you still more furious with me; and if she confessed it, you would rage shamefully at that noble Lady. My concerns are not of such consequence, as that on their account she should hear one rough word from you. I would rather things turned out so, than have been present at that unlawful and profane coronation, performed by that presumptuous person; a performance which I should certainly have put a stop to, had I been there. You say I was not the son of Earl Roger. Whether I was or was not, I cannot tell; but *you* do not show that he was your *uncle*, who bred you up as became your birth, and after fighting your battles offensive and defensive with King Stephen for sixteen years, was at last taken prisoner on your account, by the return you are actually making now. There is my brother the Earl; his honour of a thousand men, which your grandfather gave to his father, you have reduced to a fief of two hundred and forty. Then my younger brother, called the Strong, you have suffered

“Farewell, my Lord, and send your servant a detailed account of your wishes and condition. Farewell always, and longer.”

to fall into such poverty, that he has been obliged to vow perpetual service to the Hospital of Jerusalem, and has taken up the habit and order. Thus it is that you requite your relations and benefactors. As for your threat of taking away the revenues of my Bishopric, take them, if those of the Archbishopric, and six Bishoprics, and more Abbeys, which, at the hazard of your salvation, you receive, do not satisfy you.’ These words, and more of the same sort, were spoken in the hearing of all who rode with the King. A Knight of Aquitain, who did not know the Bishop, asked who it was speaking, and on being told it was the Bishop, said he, ‘It is lucky for him that he is; were he a soldier, the King would not leave him two acres.’ Another, thinking to please the King, threw bitter reproaches on the Bishop; but the King turning to him in indignation, loaded him with the foulest abuse, among other things saying, ‘You vile fellow, do you think that because I say what I like to my own cousin and Bishop, that you or any other person may insult or threaten him. I can scarce keep my hands off your eyes; it is so abominable.’ They went to the Inn, and when dinner was over, the King and Bishop talked apart amicably, on the subject of making peace with the Archbishop.” Fitz-Steph. p. 63 & Seq.]

CHAPTER XX.

ACCOMMODATION AT FREITVILLE.

AFTER the coronation Henry had no desire to avoid a meeting with the Envoys, knowing that they could not prevent what had taken place. And it was now more than ever necessary for him to bring the contest to an issue ; as the Pope was following up, with more quickness than could have been expected, the bolder line that he had commenced of late ; and had actually lodged letters, authorizing an Interdict, in the Archbishop's hands, to be published and put in force at the first refusal on Henry's part to submit to terms¹. This was an

¹ [Ep. v. 30, 35, 36, 37, 38, are the Archbishop's letters prepared under sanction of the Pope's, pronouncing the sentence. They are addressed respectively to the Archbishop of York, the Bishops of London and Winchester, and the Chapter and Clergy of the diocese of Canterbury : letters to the same effect being probably sent to all the other Bishops. These appear never to have been sent, but only kept by him, in case he should determine to exert his powers. They run thus :—The Archbishop of Canterbury to the Archbishop of York. "The calamities with which our holy Mother the Church of Canterbury has been for a long time past, unlawfully and above measure afflicted, cannot be unknown to your Brotherhood ; notorious as they are throughout the whole Latin world. We have waited for the re-

important concession to the the Archbishop's cause, though granted reluctantly and late, and John of Salisbury wrote to the Archbishop to urge him to turn it to account, at any rate by acquainting the King that he had such letters in his possession. "It is the advice of myself," he says, "and his Lordship of Sens, unless any better course should occur to yourself, that those urgent letters, which your Lordship has in your possession, empowering you, in case no peace should be made, to take judicial steps, should be shown to the Archbishops of Rouen and Tours; that, at least, the adversary may hear and tremble. It will be of great service to our cause, and will diminish the persecutor's strength, when the news reaches Gascony¹ that his

turn to a better mind of our Lord the King, whom the clemency of the chief Pontiff, our own patience, and what is more important still, the fear of Divine Judgment, should have stimulated to repentance. But he, ever abusing both God's pity and man's forbearance, hath added grievance to grievance, and followed up great injuries with greater. Lest therefore, through our too great forbearance, and unrighteous dissimulation, his blood and that of the perishing Church be required at our hands, we forward to your Brotherhood letters Apostolic, requesting and beseeching you in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, for the sake of the unity of love, and the bond of peace in his Church, and, on the authority of his Lordship the Pope, by virtue of your allegiance to the Apostolic See, commanding, that, within fifteen days of the receipt of these presents, you forbid the celebration of all divine offices throughout all the dominions of the said King, within your Province, excepting only the Baptism of infants, and the Absolution of the dying: and that, as far as in you lies, you cause this sentence of Interdict to be observed by all your suffragans inviolably."]

¹ [The King had probably returned to St. Macaire, in Gascony; at which place he was resident a short time ago.]

dominions are to be laid under an Interdict. You know what great evils and mistakes the delay in delivering the conventional letters to the Archbishop of Rouen and Bishop of Nivers, and the prohibitory ones to the Archbishop of York and the other English Bishops, gave rise to." Becket, on receiving this advice, seems to have taken means to convey intelligence of the new powers conferred upon him to Henry ; who accordingly came shortly to an interview with the Envoys, and received from them the Pope's letters communitory. The result was the celebrated Conference of Freitville, which seemed for the time to put a finish to the contest ; with such harmony was it conducted, and so strong an appearance of feeling and sincerity, to the eyes of common spectators. The constitutions of Clarendon were not even alluded to ; nor indeed any one of the questions which had interrupted the harmony of former conferences. And this silence on old and obstinate matter of contention, was accompanied with an easy flow of concession, which declared plainly that every thing was to give way to the one object of producing an interval of concord and tranquillity ; a little opposition only being interspersed, for the purpose, if possible, of preventing suspicions as to the reality and soundness of such advances at the bottom. The Archbishop's party were quite taken by surprise at the extraordinary calm, which had all at once displaced a contest of nearly seven years duration. For though the Pope had begun to threaten seriously, and though a sentence of Inter-

dict lodged in the Archbishop's hands, made some change to a more compliant temper necessary on the part of his opponents, still it was not like Henry's ordinary character to yield so resignedly to necessity; such situations having commonly had the effect rather of exasperating, than subduing him. One of the Archbishop's historians, however, writing some time after these events, and when information had come out to throw light upon them, gives an easy explanation of the whole conference. "The King," says Fitz-Stephen, "had the question put to him by some one, either in a letter or by conversation, '*Why is the Archbishop kept out of the country? He will be far better in than out.*' The hint was given to one who understood it. The King forthwith arranged a conference to treat of a peace, and there conceded every thing which before he had refused. But first," the passage goes on, "he caused his son to be crowned with despatch, on account of a certain result, which might possibly take place: so that if a crime were committed, the kingdom could not be punished on *his* account, seeing he would be no longer the King of it¹."

¹ ["Dictum fuit aliquem dixisse, vel scripsisse regi Anglorum de Archiepiscopo, *ut quid tenetur exclusus? melius tenebitur inclusus, quam exclusus.* Satisque dictum fuit intelligenti. Unde et Rex ad colloquium de pace festinavit; et ibi omnia prius negata, quæ ab eo petebantur concessit. Prius tamen filio suo ita subito coronato, propter aliquod consequens quod potuit contingere; ut, si quid mali contigisset, non deberet propter eum puniri regnum, cujus ipse rex non esset." Fitz-Stephen, p. 65.]

The following letter to John of Salisbury starts with an account of the proceedings previous to the conference.

TO JOHN OF SALISBURY, FROM A FRIEND¹.

“Segnius irritant animos demissa per aures,
Quam quæ sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus.

So, if my narration is less lucid than might be wished, you must excuse me; as I speak only from hearsay.

“You are aware that his Lordship of Rouen and the Bishop of Nivers have been deputed by the Pope to arrange the terms of peace between the King and his Lordship of Canterbury. His Lordship of Nivers set out according to his instructions, taking with him the form of peace prescribed by his Holiness, and the letters comminatory, and met his Lordship of Rouen in Normandy, with the intention of crossing the water: for the King, as you know, was then in England. On hearing this, the King sent to meet his Lordship of Nivers, pressing him not to expose himself to the dangers of the sea, as himself was on the point of returning to Normandy. When he did return, their Lordships of Rouen and Nivers laid before him the Pope’s letters commonitory prescribing the form of peace; and the interview ended thus. The King pledged himself to the Envoys that, according to the wish and intimation of his Lordship the Pope, he would without any evasion restore to his Lordship of Canterbury peace, and his Church, and all its possessions entire, and his own favour to boot, though that had not been insisted on by the Pope: to one point however he earnestly excepted,

¹ Ep. v. 46.

viz. the kiss, inasmuch as he had refused this publicly with an oath before the French at Montmartre.

“ On this their Lordships of Rouen and Nivers returned to his Lordship of Canterbury at Sens, on the Thursday, as I recollect, before the Feast of St. Magdalen, telling him what they had obtained from the King, and wishing to appoint a day for the reconciliation.

“ In the meantime the Kings of France and England had agreed to hold a conference the Monday before the Feast, on their borders, between la fortè (de St. Auboin) a town in the Chartrain, and Freitville, a castle in the territory of Tours. Moreover his Lordship of Sens had pressed his Lordship of Canterbury to attend this conference, in company with himself and Rouen and Nivers, adding that peace could never be effected between them while they kept aloof from one another. His Lordship of Canterbury was in the first instance very unwilling to attend the conference unbidden, but at last acquiesced ; so they all four set out together, viz. their Lordships of Canterbury, Sens, Rouen, and Nivers.

“ The Kings met at the time and place appointed ; and on the Monday and Tuesday before the Feast, settled their affairs without making any mention of his Lordship of Canterbury. So that after the second day’s conference his Clerics returned to their Lord, bringing news that the business was over, and the Kings on the point of retiring ; and it was greatly feared that those, who had attended the conference uninvited, would retire from it disgraced. In the interval, however, their Lordships of Sens, Rouen, and Nivers, had been interceding with the King of England with their accustomed diligence, and the King at last consented to an interview with his Lordship of Canterbury on the Feast of St. Magdalen, and promised to abide by the Pope’s commands in every point, except in the matter

of the kiss, which he had refused at Montmartre, though pressed to it by the King of France. He added, and confirmed the statement with an oath, that he did not refuse, from entertaining any designs against his Lordship of Canterbury: and, calling God to witness this, he prevailed on his Lordship of Sens to pledge himself for its truth. It is said, too, that before their departure, he added, that, rather than part at variance with his Lordship of Canterbury, he would yield in this point, however reluctantly. His Lordship of Sens returned to the Archbishop, and told him how gracious the King had seemed, both in his manner and words, and entreated him not to mar the prospect of returning kindness by insisting on the kiss; adding that the King had promised publicly, that, on returning to his own dominions, he would receive the Archbishop with the kiss, and every demonstration of gratitude¹. On this his Lordship of Canterbury, who is prepared even to lay down his life for his sheep, bowed to the advice of his Lordship of Sens, and late in the evening his answer was laid before the King.

“On the morning of the Feast, at dawn of day, the King, with a vast multitude in his train, set out for the bounds which had been agreed on by himself and the

¹ Fitz-Stephen mentions this being said at the subsequent conference. “The King was then asked to give the kiss of peace. (Some time before, this had been the sole obstacle to an arrangement, the King refusing on the ground of an oath he had made some time before in anger: but since then the Pope had absolved him from the oath, and commanded him to give the kiss.) Now he said, ‘Let him wait till I am in my own dominions, and I will kiss him to his satisfaction, on his mouth, and his hands, and his feet; and I will hear his mass too: for the present I must be excused. It will be an act of greater grace afterwards.’ The rest assented, and the Archbishop did not press his request.” Fitz-Stephen, p. 68.

King of France¹ for the conference. His Lordship of Canterbury arrived at the spot rather later, attended by the Archbishop of Sens and Earl Theobald. The other French also, who had attended the conference, crowded to the sight in great bodies. The King, as he recognized his Lordship of Canterbury approaching, spurred forward from among the crowd of by-standers, and was the first to make his salute. They exchanged greetings, offered right hands, and embraced; then the King retired with their Lordships of Sens and Canterbury, and the latter addressed him respecting the injuries done to himself and the Church, in a discourse which, as his Lordship of Sens declared, was most moving and pertinent. After this the King and the Archbishop of Canterbury conversed together alone for the greater part of the day, so long indeed as to weary out all that were in attendance. The Archbishop complained of the indignity put upon the Church, especially in the matter of the late coronation; enumerating at the same time all the benefits which the Church had conferred on the King, particularly in arranging the disputed succession between himself and King Stephen. The King assigned as the reason of the coronation, on the one hand the state of the country, and on the other his own irritation; and promised to correct all that had been done, according to the will of his Lordship of Canterbury; adding that the daughter of the King of France should be crowned by him, and that the Prince should likewise receive the Crown from his hands, with a full recognition of the rights of the Church of Canterbury.

“At these promises the Archbishop dismounted, and

¹ [The King of France, though he was near the spot the whole of the time, purposely absented himself from the conference, that, Henry being left to himself, his advances might appear the more spontaneous and sincere. Fitz-Stephen, p. 66.]

did obeisance at the King's feet ; but the King, springing from his horse in haste, held the stirrup for the Archbishop to re-mount. They then returned, the King to his party, the Archbishop to the French.

“ The King entered on no other business, but publicly announced that he had made peace with his Lordship of Canterbury, to the honour of God and his own : then, calling together all that were present, he restored to the Archbishop peace and his royal favour, together with his Church and all its possessions entire. And now the co-exiles of his Lordship of Canterbury came forward, as many as were there, and did obeisance at the King's feet ; and he restored to each their possessions with peace and the royal favour.

“ When all this was over, the King wished the Archbishop to attend him immediately into Normandy, as well for the sake of society, as to show the world that their dissension was at an end. But the Archbishop excused himself, inasmuch as he could not in honour retire from France without obtaining a licence from the King and the Church. Meanwhile the King desired the Archbishop to send some one of his Clerics into England, with letters from himself to his son and the other officers of State, to receive his possessions and those of his friends. When all was over, the King asked a blessing from his Lordship of Canterbury, and retired.

“ The person commissioned by the Archbishop is my friend, and greatest friend, your devoted servant M. Herbert. I pray your intercession to God for his safety.

“ Farewell, and remember me.”

A more detailed account is given in a letter of the Archbishop himself to the Pope, written after the conference.

[THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, TO THE POPE¹.

“ God hath looked with an eye of pity on his Church, and changed at length her sorrow into joy.

“ The King of England, as soon as he had received your last letters, and understood that you would no longer spare him, even as you had spared not the Emperor Frederic, but would lay his territories under an Interdict, forthwith made peace with us, to the honour of God, as we would hope, and the great advantage of His Church. The Usages which were once so insisted on, he did not even allude to. He exacted no oath of us, or any belonging to us². He restored to us the possessions, which we had been deprived of, according to the enumeration of them in our own schedule; and with them, peace and security, and a return from exile to all our companions; and even promised the kiss, if we wished to press him so far. In short, he gave way in every thing, insomuch that some called him perjured, who had heard him swear that he would not admit us to the kiss that day.

“ We went to the meeting in company with the Archbishop of Sens; having first consulted him and others on the matter, but more especially the Archbishop, on account of his singular zeal and activity in our cause. Under God’s blessing, those persons had been removed, who used so artfully to circumvent your Holiness³; and the King in

¹ Ep. v. 45.

² [Which had been his object in his conferences with the two preceding Embassies.]

³ [Alluding probably to the Cardinals William of Pavia, John of Naples, John of St. John and St. Paul, and others, who had been for some time past, either themselves or their agents, frequent attendants at Henry’s court.]

consequence appeared quite another person, and excited the surprise of all present by his display of moderation. At the first view he caught of our approach, he darted forward, from out of the midst of his party, and made straight up to us with his head uncovered, in order to be the first to give the salutation. We had then a few words together, the Archbishop of Sens being by: after which, to the amazement of all, he took us apart, and conversed with us so long and familiarly, that no one could have supposed that we had ever disagreed. The people with joy and astonishment, many even with tears, glorified God, and gave praise to the Blessed Magdalen, whose festival it was, for the King's conversion. We on our part, by entreaty and admonition, urged him to repentance, and to the bringing forth fruits meet for the same; that so, making open compensation to the Church for the no small wrongs she had received at his hands, he might cleanse his conscience and redeem his fame, both of which he had done hurt to; though more perhaps from the influence of evil advisers, than the impulse of his own will. He listened not only with attention, but kindness; and promised amendment. So we added that it was necessary for his own and his children's welfare, and for the preservation of the power which God had given him, that he should make formal reparation to his Mother, the Church of Canterbury, for his late most grievous injustice to her, in having, by an enormous violation of a most ancient privilege, and contrary to the Pope's letter, caused his son to be crowned by the hands of the Archbishop of York; who was blind, headstrong, and presumptuous enough to perform that rite in another Archbishop's province. For some time he showed a reluctance to admit this charge, and asked, though not, he protested, in any spirit of contention, who had crowned King William the Conqueror. We replied,

that the Church of Canterbury had no lawful Archbishop at that time.

The Archbishop then went through all the coronations from William the Conqueror's downwards¹, to prove that there was no precedent which interfered with the rights of his See. After which the letter proceeds.

“ We assured him that we did not say these things from any wish to lower or disgrace his son, whose success and and glory on the contrary we desired, and would labour to promote by every means in the Lord. The King with a look of good humour, and in a cheerful tone, replied : ‘ You have a double right to love my son ; for I made you his father, as you may remember, and gave him into your hands². And his love for you is such, that he cannot endure the sight of any of your enemies. He would have used coercion to them before now, only his reverence and dread of me prevented him. But as soon as he has the opportunity, I know he will take vengeance, and a severer one even than he ought. I doubt not that the Church of Canterbury is the noblest of all the Churches of the West ; and so far from wishing to deprive it of its rights,

¹ [That and Henry the First's coronation were the only ones which had not been performed by Archbishops of Canterbury. Stigand, an usurper, had possession of that See, when the former took place ; and the latter was performed by a deputy of Archbishop Anselm, then in exile, who repeated it in person on his return.]

² [When Chancellor, he was made tutor to the young Prince. “ Dum igitur tantis et talibus obsequiis summum apud Regem gratiæ gradum attigisset, jam quasi rerum summam ipsi committens, Filii sui Henrici, universorum hæredis, Rex tutorem fecit et Patrem, ut reputaret ipse filium per gratiam, quem Rex ipse genuit per naturam.” Herbert in *Quadril.* p. 9.]

I will in this instance, as you advise, take measures for its relief, and restoration to its ancient dignity. But as for those who up to this time have betrayed the interests of both of us, I will, with God's help, answer them as traitors deserve¹.' At these words I leapt from my horse, and would have knelt down at his feet; but he, taking hold of the stirrups, obliged me to remount, and seemed to shed tears while he said, 'My Lord Archbishop, what more? Let us renew our old intimacy: let us henceforth be friends, and forget our past enmity. Only, I beg of you, give me honour in the sight of these who are standing by.'

"He then passed over to his party, and casting his eye on the agitators, (the bearer will tell you whom I mean) said, in order to stop their mouths, 'Now that the Archbishop has shown such good intentions, if I in my turn did not show as good, then I should indeed be the worst of men, and should verify all the evil that has been said of me. I believe I can do nothing wiser or better, than try to surpass the Archbishop in kindness, charity, and good offices.'

"After this speech, which gave almost universal delight, he left us with his Bishops, who advised us to present our claims in writing before the assembly. And some would have had us place ourself and our cause altogether at the King's disposal: for from the beginning such has been the iniquity of our Scribes and Pharisees. But, blessed be God, who did not suffer me to adopt their counsel, I

¹ [Mentioning particularly (according to Fitz-Stephen) the Archbishop of York, and the other Bishops who took part in the coronation. "Et vobis liceat, et Archiepiscopo Eboracensi, et Episcopis Angliæ, Cantuarensis Ecclesiæ et vobis illatas expostulare injurias."]

refused to endanger the liberty of the Church, and the cause of God, by committing them to any man's disposal.

“ They withdrew, and we consulted with his Lordship of Sens, and our poor fellow-exiles, who confirmed us in our resolution : after which, advancing towards the King, we presented, through the Archbishop of Sens, who acted as our conductor, our humble request, that his Majesty would re-instate us in his favour, restoring, in peace and security, to us and ours the Church of Canterbury, and all its possessions, as they had been described in our schedule ; and that he would kindly make amends for the slight passed on us and our Church by his son's coronation ; promising him on our part all love and honour, and every attention which an Archbishop ought to pay to his Prince. He assented, and received us, and all our companions who were present, into his favour. We would not insist upon his making up our losses to us, as your Holiness had not urged it. Still, as we cannot in conscience recede from the claim altogether, it is only delayed for the present according to your mandate ; it is not given up. Indeed if your Holiness had urged it as forcibly as you dictated your last letters, I doubt not that he would have given compensation ; and the precedent would have been most serviceable to the Church, and especially the Apostolical See, for future generations.

“ We conversed together alone till evening, as familiarly as in the days of our friendship : and it was agreed on parting, that I should return to pay a visit of thanks to his most Christian Majesty, and my other benefactors, and to arrange my affairs ; and then come and stay with the King, previous to embarking for England : that the world might know how thoroughly we are restored to his favour and intimacy. We shall wait however in France till our envoys bring word how restitution is made ; nor do we

purpose leaving, so long as the King retains a single foot of Church land. The restitution however will show, whether he is dealing sincerely with us or not : not that we are suspicious of him personally ; but he may allow himself to listen to evil counsellors.....

“ The Bishop of Lisieux, on our going away, attacked us in face of the whole assembly, Kings, Bishops, and Nobles, on the subject of the excommunications, with considerable tact and quickness. Whether his motive was disgust at the reconciliation, or a wish to oblige his friends, I know not : they say he had received a hint from Godfrey, Archdeacon of Canterbury. He argued that, as the King had taken my followers into favour again, I ought to do the same to his. But we replied, that he must please to admit a distinction here ; for that the party whom he advocated was a miscellaneous one, some of whom were more guilty than others ; and some in communion with the Church, others for different reasons excommunicate : that persons and cases so dissimilar could not be reduced on any principle of equity to one and the same decision ; but that, as far as it was possible, we wished to be in peace and charity with all, and, under God’s assistance, having first consulted with the King, would so have regard to the honour of God, His Church, and our own, and the peace of these persons, that, if any failed in obtaining it (and God forbid it should be so) the blame would be chargeable upon themselves only.

“ That fomentor of discord, and despiser of justice, Godfrey, Archdeacon of Canterbury, who up to this time is excommunicate, now stepped in, and had begun some swelling reply, when the King, to prevent any revival of old animosities, drew me out of the crowd, begging me not to mind what such persons said, but to go home qui-

etly, in God's favour and his own ; first giving him my blessing¹.]

¹ [This letter was accompanied with others, to his friends among the Cardinals, vid. Ep. v. 47, 48, 49, 50, 51. These are to appearance cheerful and unsuspecting, and convey the impression of his thinking the contest over.]

CHAPTER XXI.

THE KING'S VIOLATION OF HIS ENGAGEMENTS.

AFTER the conference, the Archbishop returned, as had been agreed, to take farewell of his old friends in France, especially Louis, and to visit the Monasteries and other places, where he had been entertained during his exile. The Nobility received him every where with the greatest marks of attention; and supplied him liberally with horses, clothes, and other necessaries, for the outfit of his suite and followers, previous to their return to England¹.

In the meantime the envoys, whom the Archbishop had deputed for that purpose, had proceeded to England to see the terms of the peace fulfilled, and proper restitution made of the Archbishop's possessions, and the benefices that were in his gift, or belonged to his followers. They gave out, on their arrival, what was the object of their commission, but were unable for a long time even to make

¹ Fitz-Stephen, p. 68.

a beginning of the necessary arrangements for executing it. The King's officers persisted in receiving the rents of the Archbishop's lands due on Michaelmas day, and, till then, would not allow the delivery of the official letters to the young King to take place; without which no proceedings could be instituted. The agents of the exiled Clerics had, at the first, taken possession of the illegally occupied benefices, in favour of the lawful claimants; but they were soon expelled from the occupation of them, and the former holders replaced¹. Henry meanwhile remained in Normandy, and was content with allowing matters to take the direction which he wanted in England, and simply giving his, or rather the young King's ministers there, his connivance and secret encouragement; which was all that was necessary for the accomplishment of his wishes. Becket, shortly after the conference, sent a message to him, (chiefly with the view of obliging him to show what his real intentions to himself were) respecting the restitution of some farms belonging to the See of Canterbury, which he had promised to restore. "I must see first,"

¹ ["*Rex donaverat in dissensione vacantes quasdam ecclesias Archiepiscopi, et secundum formam pacis revocat donationes illas, et Archiepiscopo relinquit. Intran in possessiones earum officiales Clericorum quibus Archiepiscopus illas donaverat. Sed non multo post per officiales Regis hi expelluntur, et reintran quibus eas Rex dederat. Præterea redditus et pensiones maneriorum Archiepiscopi ad proximum terminum S. Michaelis, non Archiepiscopi sed Regis officiales recipiunt. Sapientes plurimi hoc taciti considerabant, et aliquid notabant.*" Fitz-Stephen, p. 68.]

was the answer, "how *you* conduct yourself towards me¹."

As soon as this first term had elapsed, the Archbishop's messengers found that they had fresh difficulties to encounter.

TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, FROM HIS ENVOYS
IN ENGLAND². AFTER OCT. 5.

"Domino suo carissimo sui salutem, et fidele servitium.

"To the best of our power we have fulfilled your Lordship's instructions. We delivered your Lordship's letters to William de Emesford and William Fitz-Nigel, and after much pains brought them as far as London, together with Turstin and Osbert. But when we were in readiness to deliver his Lordship the King's letters to the young King, no one of them dared to show himself; for they had received a hint from certain persons that altogether disinclined them to take part with us in this matter. We, however, on whom the charge was laid, unattended by any one except Robert, the Sacristan of Canterbury, after advising with William Fitz-Aldel, and Raoul Fitz-Stephen, presented ourselves to the King in his chamber at Westminster, the Monday after the Feast of St. Michael³. There were with the King Earl Reginald, the Archdeacons of Canterbury and Poitiers, William de St. John, and several others. Earl Reginald, on hearing that peace was made, and indeed several others, but not all, returned fervent thanks to God in the King's presence. When the letters had been read, we were ordered to withdraw, that the King might take counsel thereupon. Walter de Lisle

¹ Quadril. p. 108.

² Ep. v. 53.

³ This year (d) was the Sunday letter, so this was Oct. 5.

was then summoned and consulted; and afterwards we were recalled. In our presence your Lordship's Archdeacon, viz. of Canterbury, returned answer in these words, 'His Lordship the King has received the Mandate and Instructions of the King his Father, and has taken counsel thereon. His answer is this: Raoul de Broc, together with the officers of the said Raoul, and likewise other officers, hold in divers places, by command of the King my Father, the lands and possessions of the Archbishopric, and the goods, the Churches, and the revenues of the Archbishop's Clergy. And inasmuch as without consultation had with the above-named officers, the manorial fees and appurtenances of the Archbishop's estates cannot be accurately ascertained, he appoints for the fuller execution of the aforesaid Mandate, the Thursday immediately following the day of the Blessed Pope Calixtus¹.'

"On hearing of this delay some persons have given up all hope of a real peace, saying that this is no good earnest of it. And certain it is that all your Lordship's friends, whom we have met in England, despair so completely, that even when we show them the King's letters hanging from the seal, and affirm that we had been ourselves present when the peace was arranged, and even state this on oath, they will not or cannot believe us.

"Some of us, however, when the King was on his way from London to Windsor, presented ourselves before him in the road, and with all humility and attention saluted him in your Lordship's name; and he on his part returned us a kind answer, and was much less rigid than he had shown himself in the presence of the Justiciaries.

"Many of our friends secretly press us to advise your

¹ i. e. Oct. 15. Pope Calixtus's day is Oct. 14, and in 1170 this was on Wednesday.

Lordship to be with the King as much as possible, and to endeavour to ingratiate yourself with him. Almost every person, with whom we have spoken, is attached to your Lordship's person, and is anxious for your return to a degree which you could scarcely credit ; but fear causes them to dissemble.

“ My Lord, we have heard, indeed have learned for certain, from one who was once intimate with your Lordship, moreover we know that it is true : his Lordship the King of England has summoned, through Walter de Lisle, and by his Briefs transmitted by the same to these parts, Roger of York, styled Archbishop, Gilbert of London, and Jocelin of Salisbury, and from all the Cathedral Churches now vacant in England four or six of the Dignified Clergy, to elect for themselves Bishops, according to his will and the advice of the above-named Bishops ; and then to send on the persons so elected to the Chief Priest, to be consecrated by him, to your Lordship's injury and the prejudice of your See. It is for this reason that he is now so anxious to get you into England. The indications of this diabolical plot are but too evident, and are credited by all who live in these parts. Among other things, the person styling himself Bishop of London has been staying in the neighbourhood of Beverley, and, under pretence of paying honour to St. John in that place, has undertaken a feigned pilgrimage.....

“ Against all these things, my revered Lord, be carefully on your guard : and through the counsel which God shall give you from above, may you, by anxious watchfulness and steady discretion, repel the assaults of them that lay wait for you, through Him who never faileth them that trust in Him.

“ For the rest, my Lord, we have heard say that, immediately on the reading the King's letters, the young King

and the Archdeacons despatched a messenger to the King in Normandy, but what were his instructions we have no means of knowing.

“For this reason we send your Lordship the bearer of these, with the utmost haste, to signify to you what we have heard and learned. Have the goodness to send back the same, or some other, without delay, informing us more fully of your will and pleasure; for, as the bearer can tell you, we are alone, without head and without assistance. Of all whom your Lordship mentioned to us, no one has dared to obey either your Mandate or Instructions, except only Robert the Sacristan, who to the best of his knowledge and power has forwarded our business.

“If, on the arrival of the day appointed, it so chances that they really make restitution, we will send you notice at once according to the best information we can procure. Farewell, my Lord. The bearer will add some particulars by word of mouth: they are too abominable to be believed, and yet are true. There is no need, my Lord, to give them publicity: if it pleases you, let the words be buried after you alone have heard them.

“There is one thing, my Lord, which we must again and again press upon you: on no account return to England till the King has restored you to his favour more sincerely; for there is not a man in England, not a solitary one among all you trusted, who does not altogether despair of peace. Those who ought to consult for you, and on whom we relied most, avoid all conversation and intercourse with us. Farewell.”

The Archbishop sent information of these proceedings to the Pope.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, TO THE POPE¹.

“Holy Father, as soon as the blast of the Apostolic trumpet sounded its commination in the King’s ears, and he believed that the severity of the Church was really to be exercised against himself and his Church, he at once made his peace with us, promising faithfully not to omit one jot or tittle of your Holiness’s instructions till all was fulfilled. But, when he had thus sheltered himself from the storm of the impending sentence, he at once shrunk back from his agreement, withdrawing from us some of those possessions of the Church which our predecessors enjoyed through all his days, and ourselves after him, till the troubles broke out. Sometimes indeed, when pressed on this point, he promises that if we wait with patience and defer to him as formerly, no just ground of complaint shall be left us. But these promises lose their credit from non-performance, for as yet we have obtained from him nothing but bare words. To make this evident to your Holiness, we send, by the bearer of these, the letter we have just received from our Proctors, who were to have arranged our affairs in England.

“In the meantime, for our own part, we have avoided every thing that might tend to break off the peace which has been arranged: and yet it accords ill with our conscience to pass over without Sacerdotal censure the injuries of the Church of God, and Christ’s little ones, and those who are exiled and proscribed in the cause of justice. It is an ill precedent for our own times, and, unless Divine Goodness interposes, will not be harmless to posterity. But since it is the will of your Holiness, and of their Lordships your counsellors, we have been silent, and con-

¹ Ep. v. 52.

tinue so ; not, however, that we shall on this account (we say this in your Holiness's ear and the Church's) remit aught of the Divine Sentence against the impenitent. Well are we assured that in the last Judgment a stern Judge will make a strict enquiry ; He to whom His torn and dismembered Church daily cries out in tears, ' Lord, I suffer violence, answer Thou for me.' With her and for her we too cry out ; and yet, in conformity with your Holiness's counsel and command, we embrace in the meantime this shadow of a peace, till the day dawns and the shadows wane.

* * * * *

“ If the King obstinately refuses to fulfil the terms of the peace, it is the opinion of his most Christian Majesty that the English Church ought to be guarded by the arms of your Holiness's protection and consolation. This will be effected, if your Holiness directs letters to our venerable brother his Lordship of Meaux, and to that man of approved holiness, the Abbot of St. Crispin of Soissons, instructing them to give the King notice, that, unless he complies with your commands in restoring our possessions, the severity of the Church will light on himself and his territory. Should he still persist in his refusal, may it please your Holiness to confer on ourself a power such as you conferred on their Lordships of Rouen and Nivers, or yet ampler, for in proportion as he becomes stronger and more ferocious, firmer chains are necessary to repress him, and a heavier rod.

“ Moreover, inasmuch as the seed and the food of these troubles has been the disobedience of the Archbishop of York to the Mother Church, be pleased to restore unity to the English Church, and to command that, without appeal or subterfuge, he and his Church forthwith recognize our Primacy. If your Holiness wishes to tread in the

steps of your predecessor, you will find on inspecting the registers that this ought to be done.

“ God knows that we seek not this to our own glory : for, would to God that we had not undertaken the Pastoral Office, fraught as it certainly is with one of two evils, temporal suffering, or death eternal : our sole wish is to prevent, during our own day and your Holiness's, the frequent opportunities for Schism, and to restore its unity to the English Church. This we declare to your Holiness in the presence of Him who is the Judge of both of us, and before whom we must give account of all our deeds. May He inspire your Holiness, and teach you the right way !

“ Your Holiness has heard by ear of the fight which we are fighting, but, according to the saying of our countrymen, ‘ they who are in the fire feel the heat.’ It is our belief that we shall soon depart for England, whether to find peace or a sword, we know not ; but whichever fate awaits us, it is ordained of the Lord. And now we commend our souls to your Fatherly kindness, returning thanks to your Holiness and the Apostolic See for all the consolations which you have administered to ourself and ours in this our necessity.

“ Your Holiness may remember without hesitation that our venerable brother, Bartholomew, Bishop of Exeter, has no share in the guilt of the coronation : indeed in this storm he has suffered much from the enemies of the Church, in the cause of justice.”

The Archbishop at the same time wrote to his other correspondents at the Roman Court, to correct the expectations that his former letters would have led them to form, and to prepare them for an indefinite continuance of the contest. From the

answer of one of them, however, it appears that they had not entertained sanguine hopes at any time. Cardinal Albert writes: "Our Lord the Pope rejoiced, all the brotherhood rejoiced, on hearing that your Lordship and your Church were re-established in peace. I myself too was one of those who hoped and were glad; only that my joy was suspended from a mistrust of your adversary. Then came your last letter to inform us that his professions had had more of display than of substance in them; and our apprehensions were raised still higher: we discerned that the Ethiopian does not easily change his skin, or the leopard his spots. And so it is, that, as the man himself, though evil, is not yet under condemnation, in like manner we rejoice in part for what we have heard, but cannot rejoice fully for that which we fear. Wherefore, fluctuating between hope and fear, we have addressed our sighs to Him who is able to do more abundantly for us than either we ask or hope for; to the end that He may fulfil our joy, and that this joy no one may take from us¹."

With such dissatisfaction too had the proceedings immediately consequent on the peace been viewed at Rome, that, even before receiving the

¹ [Ep. v. 57. He had letters too from Cardinals Godwyn, Peter, Hyacinth, and the Bishop of Ostia, v. 58, 59, 60, 61. The last person tells him that the majority of the Cardinals were now in his favour: "Cumque super his a Fratribus suis Episcopis et Cardinalibus consilium expetisset, plures pro vobis inventi sunt, quam contra vos, ita quod a Domino factum credimus, eos pro vobis in hac parte locutos fore qui consueverant vestris commodis obviare."]

Archbishop's last complaint, the Pope had prepared several mandates, for the purpose of enforcing from Henry a better fulfilment of his engagements. The Archbishops of Rouen and Sens were enjoined to threaten him with an immediate Interdict on his kingdom¹; and all occupiers of Church lands were ordered to make restitution of them forthwith, on pain of excommunication². The Archbishop's own request in the last letter was attended to in the same way; and a full power lodged with him, as Legate Apostolic, of issuing sentence of Interdict, in case Henry continued to neglect the conditions of the peace³.

¹ Ep. v. 31. Dated October 8.

² Ep. v. 40. Dated October 9.

³ [Ep. v. 29. The Pope, to the Archbishop of Canterbury. "We are oppressed with anxiety and bitterness of heart, whenever we call to mind and reflect upon the grievous inflictions and distresses, which, in your zeal for justice, and for the preservation of the liberty of the Church, you have endured with unfailing fortitude and equanimity. Nevertheless, for that, in striving to maintain the perfect course, you have not allowed your adversities to weaken or unsteady your consistency, we commend in this respect your astonishing virtue, and for your so great patience give you hearty congratulation in the Lord. And whereas for a long time we have, in patience and benignity borne with our dearly beloved son in Christ, Henry, King of England, oftentimes with words of sweetness and grace, and sometimes with strictness and asperity, admonishing him to repent, we grant unto you plenary authority, in case he refuse to fulfil the peace which he has arranged with you, by restoring to you and yours all the rights and possessions you have been deprived of, that, according to the functions committed to you, upon the persons and territories subject to your Legation, excepting only the person of the King, his wife, and sons, you execute the sentence of the Church: using withal that prudence and circumspection, which the sobriety of the Priesthood demands."]

Letters also had shortly before come down from the Pope pronouncing sentence on the Bishops who had taken part in the late coronation : first, on account of the flagrant irregularity of the act itself ; and secondly, because they had not only allowed the omission of the oath for maintaining the liberty of the Church, but had themselves sworn adherence to the Constitutions of Clarendon. The Bishops of London and Salisbury were commanded to be placed under excommunication again, and the Archbishop of York and the others to be suspended¹.

¹ [Ep. v. 65, addressed to the Archbishop. The Pope, while acting with more decision than usual, seems to think an apology due to the Archbishop, for his past deficiency in this respect. This occupies the former part of the letter. "Among the manifold anxieties which the evil of the times brings upon us, the labour which you have undergone in defence of the liberty of the Church, disturbs us not a little ; desiring, as we do, very earnestly to assist you, and yet hindered by various and pressing reasons from doing so. When there are many things to fear, the mind cannot easily discover in what direction to turn ; especially if there are no grounds for determining which side promises most advantage, and least danger and inconvenience. And if it is true, that sailors even are sometimes so perplexed by changing winds, as not to be able to determine whether to proceed onwards or return to port, no wonder or blame can attach to him, who steers the vessel of the Church, if in a vast and spacious sea, where creeping things innumerable cross his path, and the risk is not of body and carnal profit, but of soul and spiritual grace, he is unable to see all at once on what side to incline his opinion ; if, in short, different views arise, according to the difference of men's wishes ; and he, who advances a particular cause, disagrees with him who consults, and ought to consult, for the good of the whole. Wherefore, brother most beloved, if we seem to have treated your cause, and the cause of the Anglican Church, remissly, and have not answered your petitions according to your mind, be assured that it is not be-

To put into immediate execution, however, such strong judicial measures as these, appeared to Becket unsuitable to the present crisis. He was desirous of being armed with full authority in case of a final dissolution of the peace; but he wished to abstain, so long as it remained in a dubious and undecided state, from all actual collision with Henry. Not that he had any real expectation of a permanent peace being arrived at in consequence of the late events. It is evident that, from the first, he had looked for no such a result: but he was unwilling by any obnoxious measure, that could be spared or delayed, to throw an obstacle in its way.

cause we thought ourselves to have no community of interest with you, or that we meant to fail you in any way; but because we judged it better to use forbearance, that so we might overcome evil with good."

Ep. v. 66, the Pope to the Bishops of London, Salisbury, Chester, &c. "When your Lordships were first called on by our beloved son Henry, your King, to ratify an instrument subversive of the liberties of the Church, your Lordships ought on no account to have kept silence. Had your Lordships been animated with any proper zeal for your office, you would have known that you are set over nations and kingdoms, to root out evil and to plant good. But your Lordships have feared man rather than God; you have set at nought your sacred office, and, we regret to say it, have, like Esau, despised your birthright. In you then has come to pass what is written in the lamentations of Jeremiah, 'The elders of Zion sit on the ground and keep silence, and the virgins of Jerusalem hang their heads to the ground.' If in the first instance terror induced your Lordships to ratify those iniquitous Usages, yet surely time should have restored your courage, and caused you to protest against your own infirmity. But your Lordships have added obstinacy to weakness, and systematically abandoned the independence of the Church in order to gain the favour of the King; who, in the meantime, while we were

If the threatening balance in which the contest now lay, were eventually to fall, he wished to leave the act of overturning it to his opponents: but he could not do any thing himself to disturb an interval of tranquillity, so long as it existed, however hollow and insecure its promise might be. In his letter accordingly to the Pope, the greater part of which has been already given, he suggests, as a milder method of dealing with Henry, first, an alteration of the grounds on which the sentence had been placed, which were peculiarly obnoxious ones to the latter; and secondly, an indefinite delay of the punishment, according as circumstances should direct. "Your clemency" he says, taking

awaiting the effects which your Lordships promised from lenient measures, has not receded one step either from his harsh practices, or his iniquitous claims.

"Your Lordships are yourselves aware how long we have tolerated the exile of our venerable brother, Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, with his Clerics and relations; whose sufferings, instead of alleviating by your sympathy, you have wantonly added to and insulted. And now, as we are informed, your Lordships have ventured, in defiance of his commands, and contrary to all precedent, to officiate in his place at the coronation of the King's son; on which occasion too, so far from requiring any securities for the liberty of the Church, you, on the contrary, allowed an oath to be administered in favour of the infamous Usages.

"Forasmuch, therefore, as careless and inactive Prelates are ever the chief cause of wickedness in the Laity, and most nourish the pestilence which they ought to remedy, we, by virtue of our sacred commission, and the authority of the Holy Apostolic See, do suspend your Lordships from the exercise of all Episcopal functions; recalling also into sentence of excommunication the Bishops of London and Salisbury, if they assisted at the above coronation."

up the tone which the Pope had so often used towards himself “ has forwarded to us letters, under the influence and dictation of the Holy Spirit, for the rebuke and correction of the Archbishop of York and his brethren ; in which also you reprove the excesses of the King with an authority befitting the successor of Peter, and the Vicar of Christ. We nevertheless, fearing lest the severity of the speech should wound the tender ears of the mighty, to the hindrance of our recent peace, request of your Holiness with all devotion, that, omitting mention of the King’s excesses, of the monstrous oath of adherence to the perverse Usages, and the non-exaction of the caution, you pronounce sentence on the said Archbishops and Bishops, on the ground of their presumption, in holding a coronation in our province, during our exile in the cause of justice and the liberty of the Church ; it being a thing acknowledged, that our Church had long possessed this privilege, and could not without a lawful judgment be deprived of it. This, we hope, will be punishing so great a presumption, and vindicating the honour of the Apostolical See, in a convenient way, without interfering with the peace of the Church. We also think it necessary, that you should write to the King tenderly, and explain, how that the Lord hath established the Apostolical See in a position of watch over the whole Church, for the trying the causes of the faithful, and affixing reward or punishment according to desert : and that therefore no one should be disturbed at receiving

sentence at her hands : that you had forborne with, and deferred much to his Majesty, but could not dissemble any longer the excesses and misdeeds of the Priesthood. Further, inasmuch as we fear an unsettling of the late peace, which may from various causes arise, we wish you to commit the excommunications and suspensions of the Bishops to our own discretion, (excepting the Archbishop of York, whom we surrender to your judgment) promising to use the same with a view to God's honour and your Lordship's, according to our ability, and as our conscience may suggest. And though the Bishop of London has been the leader of the sedition, not to call it schism, from the first, we solicit you in compassion to remit his, and the Bishop of Salisbury's punishment, if that be not too much of an encouragement to disobedience¹."

The Pope on receiving this letter made the desired alteration, and a discretionary clause was inserted in the letters to the Archbishop, by which the above sentences of excommunication and suspension were passed, not absolutely, but subject to the Archbishop's judgment.

Becket followed up his late letter to the Pope with one of remonstrance to Henry, on the open violation of the terms of the peace by his functionaries in England.

"Christ," he says, "the Inspector of hearts, the Judge and Avenger, knoweth with what sincere in-

¹ Ep. v. 52.

tentions we made peace with you, trusting to a like good faith on your Highness's part towards ourselves. For what less, my Lord, could we expect, after those arguments and words of consolation which your Highness's benignity addressed to us? Your letters also to our Lord the King your son, touching the restitution to us and ours of the possessions, which we held before our departure,—what other profession did they make but that of benevolence and peace? But now, more to your own dishonour, than to our disadvantage, (God knoweth how sincerely we think so) manifestations are being made, the very opposite of sincerity and good faith. For the counsellors of our Lord the King your son, (who these are, and how far they are to be trusted, is for your Lordship to enquire) have now, on pretence of summoning Raoul, put off the making restitution¹. The Church, your honour, and your soul, must suffer from such proceedings, unless you speedily correct them.

“ Meantime the said Raoul violently outrages the property of the Church, collects our stores into his castle of Saltwode, and, as we have been informed by those who can prove it, has, in the hearing of many, boasted that we shall not long enjoy our peace; ‘for that, before we have eat a loaf of bread in England, he will take away our life.’ Your Highness knows that voluntarily to overlook a wrong, is to participate in its guilt. Yet is this

¹ *Dilata est in diem decimum.*

Raoul plainly relying on your countenance and authority: for how else could he venture so far? What was the answer he returned to your son's letters? We leave this for your discretion to reflect upon, when you are informed of it.

“Forasmuch, however, as there are plain indications, that, through hatred of our person, the Mother of the British Churches is in danger of perishing, we, in order to save her from this fate, are prepared, God willing, to surrender our life into the hands of Raoul and his accomplices in persecution; yea, and to die a thousand deaths for Christ's sake, if his grace enable us. I had intended, my Lord, ere now to have returned to you; but the necessities of the afflicted Church draw me to her side. With your favour and permission, I purpose returning to her; perhaps, unless your timely pity ordain it otherwise, to die for her.

“Yours, whether we live or die, now and ever in the Lord¹.”

A letter of John of Salisbury's, who proceeded to England about this time on the Archbishop's concerns, takes up the account of the progress of affairs there, from the preceding report of the Envoys.

JOHN OF SALISBURY, TO PETER, ABBOT OF ST. REMY².

“You might well accuse my delay, if I had not necessity to excuse it. I ought, when I first set foot in England, to have sent back a messenger, to certify your good-

¹ Ep. v. 54.

² Ep. v. 64.

ness of the state of your children. Yet, so entirely new and strange was the whole face of affairs, which met me on leaving the vessel, that my own utter uncertainty ill qualified me for certifying another.

“ Three days before I landed, a mark had been set on all the effects of his Lordship of Canterbury; and his Proctors had been excluded from all share in administering them. Also, an Edict had been published in all the Ports, forbidding, under penalty of exile and proscription, that any of our party should on any account leave England.

“ Such has been the pious circumspection of the King's officers, that the Archbishop and his friends, on their return from exile, have little to find except empty and dismantled houses, dilapidated barns, and naked threshing floors; this is their consolation for their long proscription, the amends made them for the sacrilege of which they have been the victims. And, whereas our peace had been made on the Feast of St. Magdalen, and our most serene Lord the King had instructed his son, by his letters patent, that all things were to be restored to the Archbishop and his, entire as they had been three months before he left England, yet all the revenues which will become due up to Christmas, have been already seized in the King's name. Moreover, many Churches and possessions, which by right and by the terms of our Covenant, should have been restored to the See of Canterbury, are still in the occupation of laymen, under State authority. I, among others, have been deprived of a Church which brought my predecessor 40 marks a year.

“ It happened that I landed three days before the octave of St. Martin¹; on the octave a synod was to be held at Canterbury, in which I had to supply the vacant place

¹ November 15.

of the Archbishop ; so when I found, contrary to my hopes and expectations, and to the King's promises, that the Archbishop's restoration was altogether despaired of, and that I myself was in a manner under arrest, I set out for Canterbury with as cheerful a countenance and as quiet a mind as I could summon. There I was received both by Clergy and people with great honour, and as it were an Angel of the Lord.

“ From my return the faithful seemed to have conceived better hopes, as they felt sure that the Archbishop would never have sent me forward unless he was himself on the point to follow.

“ When the synod was concluded, I set out to present myself before the young King. He received me graciously enough ; but those about him intimated that all was not safe : they suspected that peace had not been made with us in sincerity, and that the rancour, which had been nominally softened, was in reality more firmly fixed than ever. I myself saw too many signs of this, but conducted myself as if all was going on according to my wishes.

“ From hence I made my way in all haste to my mother : she was languishing on another year, and, since she saw me, is now expecting the day of the Lord with joy. I commend her earnestly to your prayers, and to those of the Saints with whom you dwell. She had received an answer from the Spirit, that she should not taste death, till she had seen me and my brother return from exile.....”

CHAPTER XXII.

THE MARTYRDOM.

THE contents of the last Chapter show a considerable change to have taken place in the views of the Papal Court, respecting the importance of the Archbishop's cause, and the obligation it was under to assist him. Indeed the willingness of the Pope to give assistance seemed almost to increase, in proportion as Becket himself became indifferent about receiving it. His letter to the Cardinals after the absolution of the Bishop of London, in which he informed them of his intention to give himself no further concern for their support, was a signal for a stronger and more active line of conduct on the part of the Pope and his advisers, than they had ever before shown an inclination to adopt towards Henry. Letters Apostolic came down, passing sentences of suspension and excommunication on the Bishops of the opposite side, and, though not positively proceeding to sentence of Interdict on the kingdom, authorizing it conditionally, in such a way, that the Archbishop could doubtless have car-

ried it into effect, had that been his wish. Indeed the Church of Rome had only very lately shown, in the case of the Emperor Frederic, whom she had deposed, and forced to make peace on her own terms, that, though at present under a somewhat feebler rule, than that which had directed her proceedings a century before, she had not lost all her characteristic spirit, or forgotten her claims. And her deficiencies, it would seem, in the present contest, had arisen in part from dull and imperfect apprehension of the danger which attended this attack on the English Church, as well as from the fear of giving Henry offence. The subject of dispute hardly seemed sufficiently pressing to be made the occasion of so forcible a step as an Interdict. The case was one of a *principle* at stake, rather than of a strong *act* of usurpation, which required immediate correction: and therefore it failed of producing that definite kind of impression, which leads to active measures; and a delay from time to time seemed to be of little consequence, so long as the principle itself was not given up. But the unwearied zeal of the Archbishop, in his Church's cause, through so long and harassing a struggle, was a fact, which gradually forced itself on the attention of the Court of Rome, and obliged it to think more seriously of the danger in which the English Church lay, and the necessity of some timely measure for its relief. And consequently the Archbishop, at the close of his course, to which we are now arrived, was far from being in a disadvantageous position, politically speaking,

with respect to his opponents. He was in fact in a situation of greater eminence and power, than he had been in since the commencement of the contest. The Pope had all along been inclined to him; the majority of the Cardinals were now on his side¹; the French Church, King, and people were most attentive, and devoted, to himself personally, and to his cause. He was now reaping the result of those seven years of painful and persevering exile, which had evidenced his sincerity, and made his character to be understood beyond mistake. And the sympathy, veneration, and attachment which followed him every where, point him out immediately, to any ordinary reader of history, as the most remarkable, and most admired person, of these times. Meanwhile the resolution, which he had expressed in his letter to the Court of Rome, had not been idly or lightly formed. It is evident that he had no intention now of turning its advances to any account; and that his mind was made up to end the contest, and to return to his own See at whatever risk. A Court which had neglected him so long, had no claims upon him sufficient to interfere with such a course, no right to a second period of trust and dependence on his part, though now it might be showing symptoms of turning. Its advances could not efface the resolution, which its own neglect had produced.

Such is the obvious explanation which the Arch-

¹ Ep. v. 61.

bishop's own letters and recorded expressions in conversation attach to his present course. He thought that he had already been too long absent from his own Church, which had the prior and more intimate tie upon him ; and though there was nothing to prevent his continuing in France as heretofore, and carrying on the war with Henry, with greater success, in all probability, than he had hitherto done ; the prospect of these advantages did not make up for the evil and the pain of an indefinite separation from his own proper and peculiar charge ; more especially, as any success that he might obtain would depend on that very separation for its efficiency and continuance. For, however long his return might be delayed, when it did take place, it would be attended with exactly the same risk to himself as it was at present, and the Church be soon liable to be reduced again to its former state of weakness and depression. But whatever may have been the reasons which worked upon him here, the fact is plain, that he had for some time past been coming to this resolution, and that he was not now to be diverted from executing it. And this impulse of his mind, however it may have arisen, was evidently rather strengthened than impeded, by its accompaniment of danger. If the call which drew him homewards, was a call, not only to return, but to suffer, his course only seemed the more pointedly and distinctly laid down for him.

The Archbishop at this time had not quite com-

pleted the farewell circle of visits, which he had commenced after the Conference at Freitville, and was exciting the suspicions of Henry, by the length of his stay among his friends. "The King," we are told¹, "wrote to tell him, that he must return to England with all speed; for that he suspected his tarrying so long in France." Accordingly, on the 1st of November, he took farewell of Louis and his Court, then resident at Sens: from which point we may adopt the narrative of Fitz-Stephen².

"When the Archbishop came to receive his passport from the King of France, and return thanks for all the kindness he had received, among other things he said, 'We are going to England to play at heads.' The King replied, 'So it seems to me. My Lord, if you take my advice, you will never trust the King while he refuses you his kiss. Stay with me, and the wine and wealth of France shall be at your disposal.' The Archbishop. 'God's will be done.' So too on taking leave of the Bishop of Paris, he said, 'I go to England to die.'"

"When every thing was arranged, the Archbishop came to the King of England at Tours: the kiss was not offered, nor did he mention it himself, for fear of seeming importunate. Subsequently he presented himself again at Amboise, when the King was about to attend mass. Nigel de Sacville, the keeper of the King's seal, who held one of the

¹ Fitz-Steph. p. 70.

² Fitz-Steph. p. 70. [The translation is the Author's, with the exception of a few paragraphs, to which an asterisk is put.]

Archbishop's livings on the King's presentation, and was afraid of losing it, told the King the Archbishop was in the Chapel; and that most likely he had come so early to officiate at mass and offer the kiss; but that the King might disappoint him if he pleased. The King. 'How?' Nigel. 'Let the Priest say the mass *'pro defunctis.'*' The King assented, and so it was done. After mass was over, there was said as usual, in honour of our Blessed Lady the Virgin, the hymn *'Salve Sancta Parens.'* The Priest then kissed the sacred text, and handed it to the Archbishop, who likewise kissed it and handed it to the King. On his kissing it, the Archbishop said, 'My Lord, I am now in your own dominions; withhold not the kiss of peace, which the time and place and your own words require.' The King. 'Some time you shall have enough of it.'"

"One of the stipulations in the form of peace had been, that his Lordship of Rouen should meet the Archbishop, to pay his creditors all the debts he had contracted, and account for the rest of the money received from the Archbishopric, and moreover escort him to England. On his parting from the King after receiving his passport, the King said, 'Go in peace, I shall follow, and see you either at Rouen or in England as soon as I can.' The Archbishop. 'My Lord, my mind tells me that I am parting from you as one whom in this life you will not see again.' The King. 'Do you account me a traitor?' The Archbishop. 'My Lord, that

be far from you.' He arrived at Rouen, and found there no one to conduct him, except the Dean of Salisbury. The King's excuse for not coming himself was, that the King of France was preparing to attack his liegemen, the people of Auverne¹. The Archbishop informed his Lordship of Rouen that he had brought his creditors, and asked him also if he had received any orders from the King, about escorting him. His Lordship answered, 'No: but that if he pleased he would attend him unauthorized, only that there was no occasion, for all was safe.' Also he gave him £300. as a gift."

"The Archbishop continued his route to the sea, under the conduct of the aforesaid John, Dean of Salisbury: pondering all these things in his heart,

¹ Ep. v. 44. The King of England, to the Archbishop of Canterbury. "Your Lordship must know that I am unable to meet you at Rouen at the time appointed, inasmuch as it has been signified to me by my friends in France, that the King of the French is preparing himself to attack my liegemen of Auverne, and to injure them and my land. I have also heard to the same effect from the people of Auverne themselves, who pray for succour.

"For this reason I cannot meet your Lordship at Rouen at the time we arranged. But I send to you my friend and Cleric, John, Dean of Salisbury, to attend you to England, and by him I send instructions to King Henry my son, to restore to you all your possessions in peace and honour. If any matters affecting your Lordship may appear to have been left hitherto incomplete, he will arrange them.

"Lastly, inasmuch as many things are told me respecting your Lordship's delay, which perhaps are not true, I think it expedient for your Lordship to take your departure for England with all speed.

"Teste Rege ipso apud lokchas."

and especially the refusal of the kiss ; but his trust was in the Holy Spirit, and for God and the Church he feared not to die. He had received instructions from the Pope to return fearlessly, and make full proof of his ministry ; and at the same time had been armed with letters of rigorous severity against the actors in the coronation of the new King ; viz. suspending the Archbishop of York and the other Bishops, who were present at it, except only Bartholomew of Exeter, and recalling into excommunication the Bishops of London and Salisbury. These severe letters were sent on before, and were delivered to the Bishops of London and Salisbury at Canterbury. They read them, and on coming to the words, ‘ we will fill your faces with shame,’ their countenances fell.”

“ The Archbishop was arrived at Wytsand ; the face of the sea and of the sky was calm ; his ship was in readiness, and some of the others were by this time under weigh. The Archbishop waited. Some of the Clergy, his co-exiles, who were longing for their native land, said, ‘ My Lord, look, we can see England,’ and, as the other sails were filling to the wind, they asked why he hesitated, and, gazing like Moses upon the land of promise, beheld yet entered it not. The Archbishop. ‘ You hasten now. Not forty days hence, and you will rather be in any corner of the earth than England¹.’ ”

¹ [The Quadrilogue mentions several warnings that he received before his departure. “ One day, as the Archbishop was walking on the shore with his attendants, speculating on the

“Preparations were made at Dover, had he landed there, to meet him with a band of miscreants, who would have despatched their business quickly. This he had been warned of privately, before leaving France. The Archbishop of York too, and

weather, as persons do before a voyage, one Milo, Dean of Bologne, was seen coming towards them. The Archbishop smiled, and was going to speak, thinking he was come to demand the fare. Milo. ‘I am not come about that: I bring you a message from my Lord the Earl of Bologne. Beware, he says; the ports are beset with men who seek your life; who, as soon as you leave the vessel, will either murder you, or deprive you of your liberty.’ The Archbishop. ‘Did you tell me I were to be torn limb from limb, I would not regard it; for I am resolved that nothing shall hinder my return. Seven years are long enough for a Pastor to have been absent from the Lord’s sorrowing flock. I will only ask my friends (and a *last* request *should* be attended to) that if I cannot return to my Church alive, they will carry me into it dead.’ ”

“While he was speaking, a vessel entered the port from England. The crew, as soon as they had landed, were asked what was thought in England of the Archbishop’s return. They replied, that it would give every body satisfaction. But one of them, addressing the Archbishop’s attendants, said, ‘Unhappy men! what is this you are doing? You are hastening to your destruction. They say so, who should know. Armed men are collected at the port to meet you, who will lay hands on the Archbishop immediately. The whole country is roused against you, especially the King’s servants; on account of the commotion that your suspensions and excommunications of the Bishops have made.’ (For there had conspired against the Archbishop, either of their will, or by direction, together with the above Bishops, Reginald de Warenne, Gervase the Vice-Count, and Raoul de Broc; who were at this time, with an armed band, occupying the coast.) On hearing this news, some wished to prevent the Archbishop from crossing, till the peace was more firmly established. He only replied, ‘Yonder I see England, and yonder I am resolved to *be*: I am aware of the consequences.’ ” *Quadril. p. 110.*]

the Bishop of London had gone down to the coast, that their presence might give confidence and impunity to these men, in accomplishing their wicked purpose. He therefore made for Sandwich, which was one of his own ports¹.”*

The following letter gives the account of his landing.

“To his venerable Father and Lord, Alexander, well beloved in Christ, by the grace of God, Pope, Thomas, servant of the Church of Canterbury, all devotion and obedience².”

“Your Holiness is aware of the honourable conditions on which we arranged our disputes with his Majesty the King of England, and of his Majesty’s unwillingness to abide by them. This I impute not so much to his Majesty, as to those Priests of Baal and sons of the false Prophets, who have been his advisers throughout; and especially the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of London, who, in conjunction with the Bishop of Salisbury, compassed sea and land to prevent a reconciliation, urging his Majesty to insist on the validity of all appointments to Church preferment made during my absence, and on my subscription to the controverted Usages. They succeeded how-

¹ [The following anecdote agrees with these premeditated measures against the Archbishop. “Richard de Halliwelle, a Priest, an honest and religious man, had from one of the servants of the Court the confession: that he with his own hands sealed a letter to England, containing an order for the Archbishop’s death: and that Nigel de Sacville had written the same, with tears. He added too that he had made this confession to an English Bishop, and had asked to do penance: but that the Bishop said, ‘Why? you only did your Lord’s bidding;’ and, as having done nothing, would not prescribe him any penance.” Fitz-Stephen, p. 69.]

² Ep. v. 73.

ever in procuring the sequestration of my own revenues and those of my party, from the festival of St. Mary Magdalen to St. Martin's¹. And to this day two of the King's Chaplains, Geoffrey Ridel and Nigel de Sacville, retain two of my Churches, to which they were appointed by laymen ; and many of my possessions are still withheld by his Majesty. Notwithstanding which, by the advice of your Holiness and of my Lords the Cardinals, I determined on returning, and endeavouring in person to restore the broken spirit of the Church. When this my intention became known, my enemies communicated it to the King's officers, and to that son of perdition Raoul de Broc, who has now exercised his usurped power over the Church for the space of seven years. It was determined in consequence to blockade all the ports where there seemed to be a possibility of my landing, and to detain me by force till my baggage had been searched, and your Holiness's letters carefully destroyed. However, as God's goodness ordered it, their over-confidence disclosed their design, and enabled me to frustrate it. The coast was guarded by retainers of the Bishops of York, London, and Salisbury, under the command of my bitterest enemies, Raoul de Broc, Reginald de Warenne, and Gervase, Vice-Count of Kent, who gave out that they should behead me if I presumed to land. The Bishops themselves were waiting at Canterbury, to insure the activity of their followers. But I in the meantime, aware of their intentions, despatched your Holiness's letters by a messenger², who delivered to the Archbishop of York his sentence of suspension, and to the Bishops of London and Sarum the renewal of their excommunication.

“ The following day I sailed myself, and reached Eng-

¹ November 11.

² [The Nun, Idonea. See the Archbishop's letter to her, p. 53.]

land after a prosperous voyage. John, Dean of Salisbury, attended me by his Majesty's order, who seeing how much his Majesty was interested in preventing all violent measures against myself, protested in the King's name against any forcible interference, and induced our adversaries to lay aside their arms. Still however an attempt was made to force on my companion, Symon, Archdeacon of Sens, an oath, to which, for the sake of the precedent, I could not consent, as it was a profession of allegiance to our Kings alone, without any exception in favour of your Holiness, and, if required of the Clergy of this kingdom, would abridge the prerogative of the Apostolic See. In fact it was formed with a view to this by the above-mentioned Bishops. But our adversaries were unable to carry their point, owing to the sensation caused by my arrival.

“ At Canterbury I have been received with every expression of attachment, both by Clergy and Laity ; although the intruding Incumbents still retain their benefices ; and especially those two, Geoffrey Ridel, Archdeacon of Canterbury, and Nigel de Sacville, of whom the former holds the Church of Otherford, the latter that of Herges ; both in contradiction to your Holiness's commands, inasmuch as it was on the condition of their resigning that they obtained absolution from your Holiness through the Archbishop of Rouen. But on entering my Cathedral I was immediately assailed by the King's officers, who were instigated by their Lordships of York, London, and Sarum, to demand on the King's behalf the absolution of the suspended and excommunicated Bishops, and to assure me of their obedience in case I consented. I replied that no inferior judge could set aside the act of his superior, yet because they were urgent, and intimated that his Majesty would take measures to enforce their request, I stated to them that, after ascertaining his Majes-

ty's wishes, and consulting my brethren the Bishop of Winton and others, I would consent for the sake of peace to accept their formal oath of allegiance to your Holiness, and would take on myself the responsibility of doing what I could, subject of course to your Holiness's approbation ; and that I would receive their Lordships as brothers, with Christian love.

“ To this proposal they objected as unconstitutional, and derogating from the dignity of the crown. Yet on its being represented to them, that the reasons, for which your Holiness insisted on a similar oath when on a former occasion you absolved them from my sentence, must of course apply in the present instance much more strongly, I am informed that they were much staggered, and had almost resolved on accepting my terms. In the end however they were prevailed on by the Archbishop of York to throw themselves again on the King's patronage, and excite the jealousy of the new King ; as though it were my object to effect his deposition. God is my witness how far this was from my thoughts. The execution of this last scheme was committed to the Archdeacon of Canterbury, while his Grace of York and the two other Bishops crossed the sea to abuse the ear of the old King ; and at their suggestion six of the Clergy, from each vacant See in my Province, have been summoned to go and attend his Majesty on the Continent, and go through the forms of election before him in the absence of their brethren. Of course I shall refuse to consecrate, and thus a pretext will be furnished for rekindling animosities. The persons of whom I have spoken dread nothing so much as the peace of the Church, lest its discipline should interfere with their irregularities. The bearer will inform your Holiness of many particulars which I have not thought it necessary to

insert. May it please your Holiness to give my requests a favourable hearing.

“Valeat in ævum sanctitas vestra, charissime Pater.”

The narrative of Fitz-Stephen continues¹:

“It became known at Canterbury that the Archbishop had landed. All the inhabitants rejoiced, from the greatest to the least. They decked out the Cathedral; dressed out themselves in silks, and expensive clothing; prepared a public entertainment; a numerous procession attended him into the town; the Churches resounded with Chants and Anthems, and the halls with trumpets: everywhere there were signs of rejoicing. His Lordship preached a most instructive sermon, on the text, ‘Here we have no continuing city, but seek one to come².’ ”

“The Archbishop of York, and the Bishops of London and Salisbury, sent their Chaplains, charging him, ‘that he had not come in peace, but in sword and in fire, trampling on his fellow Bishops, and making them as the sole of his feet, uncited, unheard, unjudged:’ they said too, ‘that his Suffragans had gone to the sea to meet him, but that they had unexpectedly found themselves dressed in certain black garments, of which, if his Lordship pleased, they must be ridded, before they should present themselves.’ In his answer, he reminded them that peace was not promised except to men of good will³. ‘Jerusalem,’ said he,

¹ Page 73.

² Heb. xiii. 14.

³ In the Vulgate it is, In terra pax hominibus bonæ voluntatis.

‘abounding in luxury and self-indulgence, said to herself, it is peace. But the fierce vengeance of the Lord hung over it, and was hid from its eyes.’”

“When the Archbishop had been eight days in England, he sent to announce his intention of waiting on the young King. He had brought over for a present to him, three very expensive horses, remarkable for their speed, size, and beauty, with embroidered trappings, ornamented with flowers of many colours; for he regarded him with great kindness, having brought him up as a boy.”

“On his way to London he was met by the Bishop and Church of Rochester, who paid him suitable honour. On his entering the City, a third procession awaited him, to conduct him to the Church of Canons Regular of St. Mary’s, Southwark. A vast multitude of Clergy, and others both men and women, had come out to welcome him back from exile, and to bless God for his return. The poor Scholars, and the Clergy of the London Churches, had drawn themselves up in order, about three miles from the City, and when, immediately on his approach, with a loud and clear voice, they began the hymn, ‘Te Deum laudamus,’ there was scarcely a person present who could refrain from weeping. He himself bowed his head in gratitude, and caused a large alms to be distributed. When he had arrived at the Church and dismounted, the Canons, who met him in procession at the Porch, sung the first verse of the hymn, ‘Blessed is the

Lord God of Israel,' the whole multitude, Laity and Clergy, young and old, took up the response¹."

"In the midst of the general joy, a notorious crazy woman, called Matilda, repeatedly cried out, 'Archbishop, beware of the knife.' "

"When he had spent a day in the house of Henry, Bishop of Winchester, he received a messenger from the young King, Joceline de Arundel, the Queen's brother, forbidding him to make processions about the country, and recommending his return to Canterbury, and staying in his Diocese. The Archbishop asked if it was the King's intention to exclude him from his presence and confidence. Joceline. 'His commands were what I told you,' and left him haughtily."

"The next day he received a messenger from Canterbury, to say that Raoul de Broc had laid hands on a ship of burden of his, and his wine, and had cut the cables, carried off the anchors, killed some of the sailors, and shut up the rest in the Castle of Pevensey."

¹ [They were afterwards called to account for this display of feeling. "Raoul de Broc, and Gervase de Cornhell, officials of the King, summoned the Priors of the religious houses in London, and some of the more distinguished citizens, by command of the King, as they pretended, and made them give bail, to answer for having gone out in procession to meet the Archbishop, the King's adversary. For they had privately had the names of those who went out, reported to them. The Priors and Ecclesiastical persons would not attend; but many citizens did. They replied, that they had not seen any letters from the King, citing them, nor even from the Justices; and that they were the King's liegemen, and responsible to him, not to those two."]

“The Archbishop, on his way back to Canterbury, was attended by a slight escort, as a precaution against freebooters, who might surprise him on the road, especially as the appearance of things about him had become so sinister of late. There were in all five shields, swords, and lances in his train. Immediately it was told the King over the water, that he was making the circuit of the kingdom, at the head of a large army, arrayed in helmets and coats of mail ; that he was besieging the towns, and meditated driving the young King out of the country...At Canterbury he dismissed his five soldiers.”*

“The infamous family de Broc, who were his neighbours, in the Castle of Saltwode, lay wait by night in the different roads near Canterbury ; and to provoke him to impatience, or get up a quarrel with his dependants, hunted in a chase of his, without permission, and killed a stag ; also they carried off several of his dogs, and kept them. The day before Christmas day, one Robert de Broc, who had been first a Cleric, then a white Friar, and afterwards an apostate, and deserter to the world, waylaid a train of the Archbishop’s pack-horses, on their road from one of his villages to Canterbury, and set a nephew of his, John de Broc, to cut off one of the horses’ tail to the stump.....”

“On the night of the Lord’s Nativity, he read the lesson, ‘the Book of the Generation,’ and celebrated Mass. The day following, before High Mass, which he celebrated himself, he preached a sermon from the pulpit to the people, on the sub-

ject which so much occupied his thoughts—‘On earth peace, to men of good will.’ Some of the Clerics were talking of the Fathers of the Church of Canterbury, who had been Confessors there: he remarked, that they had already had one Martyr among their Archbishops, St. Elphegus, and that they might have another shortly. In consequence of the outrage committed on the horse of one of his poor tenants, he pronounced excommunication against Robert de Broc, as he had given notice he would do, when he invited him to repentance; but he in his contumacy had returned an answer by a soldier, David de Ruminel, that, ‘if he was excommunicated, he would do as an excommunicate.’ Also on the day of St. Stephen, he celebrated Mass, and on the day of St. John, Apostle and Evangelist. On this day, he sent on a secret embassy to the Pope, three of his Clerics, M. Herbert, Alexander the Welshman, his Crossbearer, and Gilbert de Glanville. Also he sent off Richard, his Chaplain, and John Plameta, to the Bishop of Norwich, to give temporary absolution to the Priests on the estate of Earl Hugo, who had been excommunicated for doing the Offices of the Church to excommunicates wittingly; but they were to give security, that within a year they would send at least two of their number to his Lordship the Pope, to bear the penance he would exact. Also he remembered William the Priest, who had come to him at Wooteham, and sent his nephew, William Beivin, to try to find him, either in the city or court: when he

could not find him, the Archbishop made out a Deed, giving and confirming to him the Chapel of Pensehurst, subjoining an anathema against any one who dared to take it away; he gave the Deed to William Beivin, to deliver to the Priest when he saw him. By that deed the Priest afterwards obtained the Church in peace."

The situation of the Archbishop's party, just now, is described in John of Salisbury's letter to the Abbot of St. Remy,—the latter part of it.

"When the Archbishop had arrived in London, he received an order from the young King to advance no farther, nor enter his castles and cities, but to return, with all his, to the precincts of his Cathedral Church. To those with him, orders were given not to leave the kingdom, but, as they valued their safety, to be on their guard. On the publication of this order, the Archbishop, and his, returned to Canterbury; and there, in much danger, we are now waiting for the day of the Lord.

"No way seems now open for our consolation and safety, unless the prayers of yourself and the Saints can deliver us from the snares of those who would wipe us utterly away from the face of the earth. Yet although the persecution is most grievous, and few among the rich and honourable come near the Archbishop, he himself with the dignity of a Bishop does justice for all that come to him, laying aside all consideration of person.

"My brother has gone to our friend the Bishop of Exeter, whom I have not yet been able to visit, and abides with him in much fear and daily anxiety. It would be tedious were I to go one by one through all our straitnesses, but the bearer will supply the defects of the letter.

"May it please your compassionate goodness to entreat

the holy Prior and your Bishop's friends, and the Abbots of St. Nicasius and St. Crispin, and the other Saints your companions, that they will plead for us with the Most High, so that we who are in jeopardy through our own deserts, may be delivered by theirs. Of my dearest brethren and masters who attend on the blessed Remigius, I can scarcely even think without a sigh and a tear, calling to mind, as I do, how I once dwelt blessedly, as it were in Paradise, while enjoying their society, and experiencing among them a representation of that love which is to be our happiness hereafter. Entreat them, I beseech you, most especially, that in their orisons they forget not their adopted children.

“As soon as ever it may please God to give us better times, Christ willing, I will hasten to inform you. May your Holiness fare well and prosper, and may all good attend the whole Church¹.”

Fitz-Stephen continues his narrative²:—

“The Archbishop of York, and the Bishops of London and Salisbury, with the Archdeacon of Poitiers (the Archdeacon of Canterbury was prevented by bad weather), crossed the water to hold an interview with the King. He had already heard of the suspension and excommunication. They repeat to him the whole story. They lay all the blame upon the Archbishop; they report him guilty of treason in what he had done. Falsehood doubles his offence. It had been told the King that the Archbishop was making the circuit of the kingdom at

¹ [Ep. v. 64. The former part of the letter was given above.]

² Page 78 & Seq.

the head of a large body of men. The King asks the Archbishop of York, and Bishops of London and Salisbury, to advise him what to do. ‘*It is not our part, they say, to tell you what must be done.*’ At length one says, ‘*My Lord, while Thomas lives, you will not have peace or quiet, or see another good day.*’ On hearing this, such fury, bitterness, and passion, took possession of the King, as his disordered look and gestures expressed, that it was immediately understood what he wanted.”*

“Four Barons, Reginald Fitz-Urse, William de Traci, Hugo de Moreville, Richard Bryto, left the Court, and crossed the channel from different parts; and by the guidance of the Devil, the ancient enemy of all good, assembled all at the same hour at Saltwode, the Castle of the de Brocs. Before their arrival, the blessed Archbishop was well assured of their approach, and was the more comforted, quitting himself like a man, and having put on the whole armour of God. But he told no one, lest it should cause a tumult.”

“The King called a council of his Barons. He complained that the Archbishop had entered the kingdom like an Invader; that he had suspended the Archbishop of York, and several Bishops, and excommunicated some for their services to himself; and that he intended, by raising a commotion, to deprive himself and his son of their crowns; that to spite himself, he had procured the Legation; and that he had obtained from the Pope certain powers, respecting the disposal of benefices, and even the

power of summoning himself, and his Earls and Barons. The Earl of Leicester was the first to reply. ‘My Lord, the Archbishop and the Earl, my father, were intimate friends; but be assured, that from the time he took himself out of your kingdom and favour, he has not seen a messenger from me, nor I from him.’ Engelgere de Bohun then spoke. (He was an old malignant, uncle to the Bishop of Salisbury, and had the mark of the Beast on his forehead, being excommunicate.) ‘I know not what you are to do with such a fellow, except you bind him with a wicker rope, and hang him on a cross.’ William, surnamed Malvoisin, nephew of Eudes Earl of Bretagne, was the third speaker. ‘Some time ago,’ he said, ‘I was at Rome, on my return from Jerusalem. I questioned my host concerning the Popes. He said, among other things, that a certain Pope had been killed, on account of his intolerable haughtiness and insolence.’ As soon as the debate was ended, the King sent William, Earl of Mandeville, Seiers de Quincy, and Richard de Humet, after the four who had left. The report was, that they were to seize the Archbishop. Earl William, and Seiers, went as far as the coast, but did not cross. Richard went to another port, and crossed. The young King was at Winton. Richard sent to Hugo de Gundeville, and William Fitz-John, his tutors, to come privately with the troops of the household to Canterbury. He himself lay wait on the coast, in order to cut off the Archbishop’s escape; William and Seiers doing the same on the

other side of the water, to take him, even if he did cross.”*

“The fifth day after Christmas, the four Barons, and all their retainers, and whole family of de Broc, set out from the Castle of Saltwode, for Canterbury. Besides these, they collected many more soldiers from the neighbouring Castles, under a summons from his Majesty. The four, with twelve soldiers in attendance, went directly to the Archbishop’s Palace. The rest sought out the Mayor and Officers of the town, and bad them muster the citizens on the King’s service.”

“The Barons and soldiers had now made their way into the Archbishop’s presence; it was about the tenth hour (i. e. four o’clock.) The Archbishop had dined, but the dependants were still at their meal. On their entrance, he advanced to accost them; they only muttered an indistinct answer; but sat down opposite to him among the Monks and Clergy. Reginald Fitz-Urse spoke. ‘Our Lord the King sent us from the other side of the water, to demand the absolution of the Bishops whom you excommunicated on your entering England, and to bid you attend the King his son at Winchester, there to render account for your doings, and to make submission.’ The Archbishop answered, that ‘he had already offered to absolve the Bishops of London and Salisbury, and to revoke the suspension of the others, on condition that they would humble themselves and ask for mercy, or that they would give security to stand by the decision of the Eccle-

siastical Court; and that they had refused. That he had also already made an attempt to present himself to the young King, not indeed to render account, for that he had done nothing that admitted of it, but to testify his respect; and that he had been forbidden, which he much regretted.' M. John of Salisbury said to him, 'My Lord, let us converse in private on this subject.' The Archbishop. 'It is better not, for the demands cannot be complied with.' Reginald Fitz-Urse. 'From whom do you hold your Archbishopric?' The Archbishop. 'Its spirituals, from his Lordship the Pope; and its temporalities, from the King.' Reginald. 'Own yourself to be the King's altogether.' The Archbishop. 'We are commanded to render unto Cæsar the things that be Cæsar's, and unto God the things that be God's.' They gnashed upon him with their teeth. He continued—'My Lords, you threaten to little purpose; you will find me foot to foot with you in the battle of the Lord. I have already fled from my duty once, and will do so again no more for ever. If I am allowed to perform my office in peace, it is well for me; if not, God's will be done.' 'Moreover,' he added, 'I wonder the more at your deportment, considering what there is between you and me.' He said this, alluding to the fact that Reginald, and William de Traci, and Hugo de Moreville, had voluntarily made themselves his liegemen, when he was Chancellor. They answered, 'There is nothing between us against the King.' A great part of the Arch-

bishop's family were now collected, both Clerics and Knights, who had been alarmed at the loud tone of the conversation. On retiring, Reginald said, 'I charge you all that you do not let that man escape.' The Archbishop. 'The task will not be difficult.' They left the hall, taking with them, William Fitz-Nigel, and Radulph Morri, knights of the Archbishop's. They removed the Archbishop's Porter, putting one of their own men in his place: the door was shut, and only the wicket left open: William Fitz-Nigel, and Simon de Crioil, a Knight of the Abbot of St. Augustine's, were stationed in the Porch of the Hall. A carpenter was there, repairing some steps; Reginald took away his axe."

"In the meantime we were with the Archbishop, thinking over what was passed: we were disagreed about what it meant. Some thought there was nothing to apprehend; that they had come intoxicated, and would speak differently when sober: also that it was the festival of the Nativity; and that the King's word was pledged for their safety. Some imagined that they had seen too many bad omens. And now a loud noise was heard, and there was a general rush of the dependants through the hall down the steps towards the Church, as if they were flying from armed men. The monks, many of whom were present, urged the Archbishop to take refuge likewise. He answered, 'Be not afraid; monks are given to see dangers at their worst.' They continued to press him, and as the

nones and vespers were just beginning, he assented. He ordered the Lord's Cross to be brought out ; and Henry of Auxerre, a Cleric, bore it before him. When we were within the Cloister, the monks wished to shut the door behind us. He was displeased, and made all the others go before him, walking himself last and slowly : nor could we detect any sign of fear either in his dress or deportment : his exterior was as calm as his heart was fixed. Once indeed he cast a look over his right shoulder ; it might have been that he thought of pursuers ; or perhaps he wished to assure himself that no one had loitered and shut the door."

"And now he was in the Church and was going to the High Altar, where he usually sat during the 'horæ' and 'missæ familiares.' He had ascended four of the steps, when Reginald Fitz-Urse appeared at the Cloister door in a complete suit of mail, and with his sword drawn ; and immediately the three others, armed at all points, but with their visors up, and many more in their train. On seeing them some persons closed the Cathedral door ; but the holy man, putting his trust in the Lord, and not fearing what flesh could do unto him, descended from the steps, and forbade them, saying, 'Suffer all that will to enter the house of God. His will be done.' When the Archbishop descended from the steps towards the door, and would not allow it to be shut, then John of Salisbury and the other Clerics fled for safety, some to the Altars, some to places of concealment, all except Robert the Canon,

and William Fitz-Stephen, and Edward Grim, who had lately entered the Archbishop's service. And truly, had the Archbishop himself been mindful to escape by flight, he might have done so with little difficulty. It was evening; a long night was at hand; the crypt was near, in which were many dark recesses for concealment. There was a door too, which led by a winding staircase to the lofts and vaulting above the Church: possibly he might escape pursuit altogether; or something might happen in the meantime. But he chose none of these things. He withdrew not, entreated not, uttered not a murmur or complaint; but waiting his hour for Christ's sake and for the Church, with a resolution of soul and calmness of voice and deportment, such as we have never heard surpassed in the death of any Martyr, endured unto the end."

"And now the ruffians entered in astonishment to find the door already open. One cried out, 'Where is the traitor?' The Archbishop in full possession of himself made no answer. Some one else exclaimed, 'Where is the Archbishop?' He replied, 'I am he: what is it that you seek?' One of the ruffians. 'Your death.' The Archbishop. 'And I meet it gladly in the name of the Lord, and commend my soul and my cause to God, and the Blessed Mary, the Sainted Guardian of this Church. God forbid that I should fly your swords. But I charge you by His authority that you touch none of mine.' One of them had in his hand an axe, as well as his sword, for bursting the door if it had

been closed ; he put down the axe, (that one which is in that place to this day.) One struck him with the flat of his sword between the shoulders ; crying, ‘ Fly : you are a dead man.’ ”

“ He stood motionless, and bowing his neck commended himself to the Lord : repeating to himself the names of the martyred and sainted Archbishops, St. Denys and St. Elphegus. Some laid hands on him, saying, ‘ You are our prisoner : come with us ;’ and would have dragged him out of the Church, but that they feared a tumult. He made answer, ‘ I go no whither, do with me here what you please.’ A struggle ensued, some of the monks endeavouring to prevent the violence offered him : among them was M. Edward Grim, who received on his own arm the first blow levelled by William de Traci at the Archbishop’s head : but the blow took effect on both. The Archbishop, wiping away the blood which was streaming from his brow, gave thanks to God and said, ‘ Lord, into Thy hands I commend my spirit.’ He received a second blow upon his head and fell upon his face, first kneeling, and then joining and stretching out his hands to God, before the Altar of St. Benedict. Even in falling his attitude was composed and graceful, as of one prostrating himself in prayer,—not even his pall was disarranged. As he lay on the ground, Richard Bryto struck him with such violence, that the sword broke short in his skull and against the pavement, saying, ‘ Take that for my Lord William the King’s brother.’ This William had wished to

marry the Countess de Warenne; but the Archbishop had refused because of their relationship. He received in all four blows on the head, by which the crown of his skull was completely cut off.....”

“.....One Hugo de Horsea, surnamed Malclerk, put his foot upon his neck, and with a spear point drew out his brains.”

“When it was known that the murderers had retired, the monks and the Archbishop’s Clerics and servants, and numbers of the townsmen, flocked together to see his corse. There they continued weeping a great part of the night. Afterwards they placed the body on a bier, covering the hollow of his skull with a clean linen cloth, and bore it into the middle of the Choir before the Altar. Even now the sweetness and constancy of his soul was imaged in his countenance.”

“Here F. Robert, a priest and canon of the religious house of Merton, who was confessor to the Archbishop, and had been his Chaplain and constant companion since the day he was ordained, discovered to the monks what none of us were till then aware of, that the Archbishop was in a hair shirt; and thrust his hand into his bosom, showing us the hair shirt next his skin, and above it the habit of a Monk.”

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX I.

EXTRACTED FROM VOLS. II. III. OF THE BRITISH MAGAZINE¹.

PART I.—CONTINUED FROM THE PREFACE.

BECKET'S CHARACTER AS ARCHBISHOP.

SUCH are the contemporary sources from which we derive our knowledge of Becket's character and history, and certainly it is possible to elicit from them the view generally adopted by staunch Protestants. It is possible by a judicious mixture of scepticism and credulity so to select from this medley of materials as to make out what in legal language might be called a strong case.

Lord Lyttleton, for instance, (v. ii. p. 135,) has culled from the tenth page of the *Quadrilogue* the statement that "one reason which induced Henry to select Becket for Archbishop, was *because he hoped that by this means he should manage ecclesiastical as well as secular affairs to his own satisfaction.*" And he infers from this that Becket had expressed to the King his willingness to take part in extensive measures for Church reform. And farther, (p. 139,) in order to show that to secure Becket's election to the See of Canterbury the King had recourse to very ar-

¹[Translations are here put in the place of the original quotations; those which the Author had not given in the preceding letters, being supplied.]

bitrary measures, he quotes *Quadril.* (p. 11)—“How very desirous Henry was to carry this point appears,” says Lord Lyttleton, “*most strongly* from his words to Richard de Luci, before he sent him to England. He said to him, ‘Richard, if I were now lying dead, would not you endeavour to raise my eldest son to the throne?’ and upon his answering that he would to the utmost of his power, the King replied, ‘*Endeavour likewise to raise my Chancellor Becket to the See of Canterbury.*’” The passages here quoted are translated faithfully from the tenth and eleventh pages of the *Quadrilogue*, and seem to warrant the construction put upon them by Lord Lyttleton. But then there occur between these passages two others, which I will proceed to translate, I hope not unfaithfully.

While the See of Canterbury was vacant, the King, then in Normandy, had commissioned Becket to return to England on some state business, and the night before his departure sent for him to the castle of Falaise, where, according to Herbert de Boscham (as quoted *Quadril.* p. 10,) the following conversation took place:—“The King said to him, ‘You are not yet acquainted with the exact nature of your commission;’ and added, ‘it is my wish that you should be Archbishop.’ The Chancellor answered, pointing with a smile at some splendid ornament of his dress, ‘A truly monastic character you have selected for the head of that famous Monastery. My Lord, I well know that if this takes place your mind will soon be alienated from me, and that you will hate me then, as much as you love me now. I know that you now assume and will continue to require a power in Church matters to which I shall not be able to consent. And there will be people enough to make the most of a quarrel between us.’” Such is the statement of Herbert de Boscham, which is followed by another to the same purpose from John of Salisbury:—“For being a

man of much experience and foresight, and knowing well the duties of the Archbishopric, as well as the temper of the King and court, he saw that he could not accept the office without losing the favour either of God or the King." John of Salisbury goes on to say that Becket would have persisted in his refusal, but for the interference of Cardinal Henry of Pisa, who was then Pope's Legate in Normandy.

These passages occur in the interval between Lord Lyttleton's two extracts, and these he feels no more scruple in setting completely aside than he felt in implicitly adopting the others. Now it certainly is possible by a repetition of this process to make out a very strong case, but not, it will be observed, without leaving materials for a counter case. Indeed, a principle of selection not more arbitrary than that adopted by Lord Lyttleton might, without much ingenuity, metamorphose the proud intriguer into a holy and humble man of God.

I, however, have no wish to make out a case one way or another, but, with a curiosity purely antiquarian, shall attempt to analyze conflicting statements, and to elicit from them what may appear to be the truth. And, first, it will be my object to inquire into the nature of the evidence on which rest the three principal charges against Becket's character:—1. That he was a very unclerical Chancellor. 2. That his election to Canterbury was uncanonical. 3. That, as Archbishop, he affected an extraordinary degree of sanctity.

As the last of these is, in order of importance, first, I shall bestow on it the first attention, and shall begin with admitting the accuracy of all the quotations to which Lord Lyttleton and Mr. Turner appeal in justification of their views. But before I proceed to state what appears to me to throw a doubt over their conclusions, I would remind my readers,—1st. That, as it was the evident bias of

Becket's biographers to exalt his sanctity as much as possible, not only in the eyes of others, but of their own, every statement of theirs which interferes with this wish should be regarded as an *admission*, and on this account as especially worthy of credit. 2ndly. That as these writers, like all others, must have been more liable to be deceived in generals than in particulars, their statements are less worthy of reliance in proportion as they are less definite; and we may venture to question some of their vague assertions, without disparaging their credibility as witnesses of facts. 3rdly. That if, on any occasion, they depose at once to their belief of a fact, and to their reasons for believing it, we are at liberty to exercise our own judgment on the validity of their inference, and, admitting the data on *their* authority, to reject or adopt the conclusion on *our own*.

The last of these observations we shall apply to Becket's hair shirt, *verminibus scaturiens*. One of the points insisted on in proof of Becket's ostentatious sanctity is the assertion of Fitz-Stephen, that, from the time he was consecrated, it was his habit to wear a hair shirt of the coarsest hair cloth, overrun with vermin. Now, even if Fitz-Stephen had deposed to this on his personal knowledge, it would have been open to us to make some allowance for the exaggeration of a panegyrist; and even were this precluded, still charity would have required some evidence that the fact was generally known, before it interpreted into hypocritical ostentation what might have been nothing worse than a revolting outrage upon taste. But what is the case?—does Fitz-Stephen depose to it on personal knowledge? or does he state that the fact was generally known? Let us hear his own account of the circumstances under which the idea first dawned on him that his friend and companion had ever worn a hair shirt in his

life,—not that he was in the habit of wearing one—still less that this one was overrun with vermin,—but that he had ever, in any solitary instance, had any such garment on his person.

Fitz-Stephen certainly does depose to having once, and only once, seen his friend in a hair shirt; but that once was neither early in their intimacy, nor near the time of the Archbishop's consecration, nor on an occasion where there was room for display. The insulated act came to his knowledge at a time when it was too late either for himself to observe its repetition, or for Becket to acquire influence by its notoriety.

On the 29th of December, 1170, the dead body of the Archbishop was lying upon a bier in the middle of the choir of Canterbury, with a linen cloth wrapped round his head, to conceal the gashes which it had received in his murder.

“Even now the sweetness and constancy of his soul was imaged in his countenance.

“Here F. Robert, a priest and canon of the religious house of Merton, who was confessor to the Archbishop, and had been his Chaplain and constant companion since the day he was ordained, discovered to the monks what none of us were till then aware of, that the Archbishop was in a hair shirt; and thrust his hand into his bosom, showing us the hair shirt next his skin, and above it the habit of a Monk.

“The Monks, in an ecstasy of spiritual joy, lifted up their heads to Heaven, and magnified God, for the Archbishop's twofold Martyrdom, the voluntary one of his life, the violent one of his death. They prostrate themselves; they kiss his hands and feet; they proclaim aloud the glorious Martyr and Saint. All come to see the new attire of the once splendid Chancellor.” (Fitz-Steph. p. 89.)

Such is the ground Fitz-Stephen had for that assertion of his which has been above cited, and which is appealed to in proof of Becket's ostentatious sanctity. It was found on his death that he had on a hair shirt; his confessor asserted that he had been in the habit of wearing it; and yet the knowledge of this rigid penance had been kept back from his most intimate friends. None were prepared for the discovery. The impression of his splendour as Chancellor had not yet been so effaced as to soften the contrast between his external pomp and his secret austerity.

In what I have said upon this subject, I do not flatter myself that I have altogether removed from Becket the stigma of asceticism. It does appear that he wore a hair shirt, and that he had been in the habit of wearing one; but for its disgusting appendages I see no adequate proof; and that it was ostentatiously displayed, I feel no hesitation in utterly denying.

Again, it is usually supposed that Becket affected singular abstinence in his diet, and this supposition too is founded on the assertion of Fitz-Stephen. But let us examine what Herbert de Boscham says upon this subject. A passage from his life of Becket is extracted in the *Quadrilogue*, in which he offers an apology for his master's apparent defect in this particular. Having described the splendour of the Archbishop's table, he proceeds, "but in truth, amidst the great variety of dainties which were daily set before him, he was no Sardinapalus, but altogether the Bishop. Of the hour and the measure he used, we must hear, before we judge him to have stained ever so lightly the virtue of sobriety, that we are attributing to him; *though the 'righteous over much,' and persons of indiscreet religion, may easily think so.*

"He retained for his own eating only a few things, of the more delicate and precious sort; which, though not

prohibited, *might seem a departure from the perfect rule of sobriety ; especially to those ' righteous over much.' "*

Such is the *admission* of Herbert de Boscham, whose inclination would have prevented his admitting any thing which he could possibly deny. And his admission is farther confirmed by two anecdotes quoted in the Quadriologue from William of Canterbury ; which, being *definite statements of fact*, are in their nature more worthy of credit than the *vague generalization* to which they are opposed, and being contrary to the bias of the writer, are, like the account given by Herbert, *admissions*.

In the Quadriologue (p. 83) we are told that Becket, while residing in the Cistercian convent of Pontigni, on hearing of the banishment and sufferings of his nearest relatives, determined to assimilate his lot with their's by voluntary rigours. " And so for some days he lived on preparations of meal, dry and insipid, according to the rule of the Cistercian order. But so opposite was this to his ordinary habits, that after he had gone on mortifying himself for some days, he became seriously ill. For *having been bred up in delicacies from his childhood*, he could not, without injury to his health, take coarser food."

Again (p. 86) we hear, that, on his departure from Pontigni, the following conversation took place between himself and the Abbot. He is said to have communicated to the Abbot a dream, in which he had been warned that he was to suffer martyrdom. " The Abbot, with a significant smile, said, ' Martyrdom, do you say ? What ! fond of meat and drink, and a Martyr ?

Non bene conveniunt nec in una sede morantur

this cup of wine that you drink, and the cup of Martyrdom.' The Archbishop. ' I confess it ; *I am given too much to bodily pleasures*. Yet, has that merciful One who

justifies the ungodly, vouchsafed to make this revelation to me.'”

These anecdotes need no comment; they are definite, and they are admissions; and, coupled with the apology of Herbert, may be considered to clear Becket of all imputation on the score of unnecessary abstinence.

Again, it is said, that after his appointment to Canterbury, he entirely changed his associates, and ostentatiously devoted himself to the company of those who were famed for superior sanctity. And this statement is likewise supported by the authority of his biographers. Now, whether he did or did not, in his secret heart, prefer the company of religious men, is a question which I do not feel called on in this place to entertain. The accusation is, not that his companions *were* religious, but that they were *famed* for being so—not that he selected them because he preferred their society, but because he hoped that their reputation would reflect credit on himself.

Now, whether he was or was not actuated by this view in the selection of his companions, it is quite certain that he did not succeed in it. For I can prove, and on tolerably good evidence, that so far from deriving credit from his associates, he lost credit by them; and that their character was, at any rate on one occasion, made a handle against himself.

Letter 53, Book i., of the collection Ep. D. Thomæ, was sent to Becket in the autumn of 1165, from his zealous friend Nicholas of Rouen, and contains, among other matters, a very detailed and interesting account of a secret interview which had been granted to himself and Herbert by the Empress Matilda. She had been beset for some time by Becket's enemies, and was daily pressed by a variety of arguments tending to lower him in her estimation. Among other things, says Nicholas, she has been told that you are

lax in the selection of your associates. "They say too, that it is plain God cannot be on your side, for, that from the first day you were Archbishop, you have had about you, not persons remarkable for their religion, but for their intellectual rank, whom they call by a coarse name which it is useless to repeat. Also they assert, that in disposing of your benefices, you have looked to your own service more than to God's, and have promoted persons of notoriously lax character."

Such was Becket's success in this supposed attempt of his to secure reputation for himself by the celebrity of his associates. Indeed, nothing can be clearer, than that the stories of Becket's external sanctity, whatever may have been their foundation, obtained no credit during his lifetime. The notion prevalent about him, at least for some years after his consecration, was the direct reverse of this, as well among his friends as among his enemies. So far were men in general from being struck with any sudden change in his character, that he was thought to retain too much of the Chancellor in the Archbishop. And so strongly were they impressed with the idea of his luxury and worldly-mindedness, that his supposed inability to endure the miseries of exile was among the chief hopes of the King's party. "We were much deceived in that man," said the Archdeacon of Poitiers, one of his bitterest opponents, "he had a certain air with him, and a kind of fineness externally. But within he was far otherwise, as the fact has since shown, and is now showing daily." This anecdote is preserved to us by Giraldus Cambrensis, (*inter Script. Ang. Sac.* vol. ii. p. 429.) And this confession of the Archdeacon of Poitiers is only of a piece with what we know from other sources. Arnulph, the intriguing and able Bishop of Lisieux, sent early notice to Becket, informing him of the notion that prevailed respect-

ing him, and suggesting the steps that might best tend to refute it. "He advises you to regulate your expenditure with caution. If, as the King's party suppose, you have a large treasure with you, use it sparingly; if not, on no account let it be known; for if they see that you are willing and able to persevere, now that your resources are cut off, they will be more likely to come to terms." (Ep. D. T. i. 53.)

It may be useless to add any thing to these testimonies; yet it is curious to observe that this notion on the part of Becket's enemies was so far founded in fact, that even his friends thought he spent too much money in pomp and elegance. In the early part of his exile, i. e. July, 1165, he received a letter from his friend John, Bishop of Poitiers, begging him to be more considerate in this respect. "It will be necessary for your Lordship, as far as one can judge from the present aspect of your affairs, to husband your resources in every possible way, to let your enemies see that you are prepared for any sufferings your exile may reduce you to. For this reason I have often warned your discretion, and must still anxiously press you, to get rid of your superfluous incumbrances, and to consider the badness of the times, which promises you neither a speedy return nor an easy one. Your wisdom ought to know that no one will think the less of you, if in conformity to your circumstances, and in condescension to the Religious House that entertains you, you content yourself with a moderate establishment of horses and men, such as your necessities require." (Ep. D. T. i. 35.)

But this is not all I have to say upon the subject: not only were Becket's external appointments such as to convey the idea of worldly-mindedness, but his private studies and pursuits were not so directly connected with religion as to satisfy the more serious among his warm admirers.

John of Salisbury seems to have watched the progress of his mind with a sort of affectionate anxiety, and to have availed himself of such opportunities as offered for giving his friend's thoughts the direction he wished. In the beginning of 1165, when Becket's prospects were very unpromising, he wrote in the following terms:—[see the extract in p. 2, 3.]

I have given this curious extract at length, as containing a satisfactory proof of the light in which Becket was looked on by his most intimate friend. He seems to have been regarded by John of Salisbury as a man of natural, but undisciplined piety; capable of profiting by good advice, but needing it; anxious to serve God as he ought, but not sufficiently informed how.

This letter is rendered still more interesting by comparing it with another, written a few months later the same year. In the spring of 1165, shortly after the departure of Alexander from Sens for Italy, John of Salisbury wrote to an old and intimate friend of his, Bartholomew, Bishop of Exeter, expressing his determination not to purchase the King's favour by deserting the Archbishop, and proceeds:—"Without doubt," says he, "this exile has been of the greatest service to my Lord of Canterbury, both in regard to his literary attainments, and the tone of his mind. I hope too that it has not been altogether lost upon myself." (Letters of J. S. 150.)

We find then that Becket not only *did not* become *suddenly* religious, but that he *did* become *gradually* religious, and that protracted suffering, by degrees, diverted his thoughts from secular pursuits, and perhaps, at length, trained him to some of those ascetic habits which his biographers may only have antedated, not fabricated.

PART II.—HIS CHARACTER WHEN CHANCELLOR.

HAVING shown, as I suppose satisfactorily, that Becket as Archbishop was in no way remarkable for his pretensions to religion, but rather the reverse, I feel myself less called on to repel the charge that he was an unclerical Chancellor. The grave imputation which hangs over him is that of hypocrisy, founded on the supposed suddenness of his transition from laxity to asceticism, and the coincidence of this transition with his promotion from Chancellor to Archbishop. And this imputation is as completely refuted by disproving either, as both, of his supposed characters.

Yet, it is no more than justice to state, that in this respect too he has been much misrepresented; and that if his habits were secular for an Archbishop, they were ascetic for a Chancellor. I do not indeed mean to assert that the charge of ambition and unclerical deportment, as affecting this part of Becket's life, is as utterly colourless as that of ostentatious sanctity afterwards. I shall not set about to prove that though after his consecration he was, in some respects, a secular character, still that he was in no respect such before it. All I shall attempt to shew is, that in both capacities, that of Chancellor and that of Archbishop, he exhibited himself in much the same light—as one who had a strong, though not very consistent, sense of religion, and whose ambition was curiously tinged with austerity.

I admit, then, on the authority of William Fitz-Stephen, that Becket, while Archdeacon of Canterbury, acted the part not only of an able military commander, but of an accomplished man-at-arms. Nor do I deny that he was an admirable judge of hawks and horses, and entered

keenly into the chase as an occasional pastime. But, on the authority of the same Fitz-Stephen (p. 14,) I feel equally called on to believe that "in the midst of his secular greatness and splendour, he used often to receive on his naked back the secret discipline of the scourge; when in London, from Raoul, Prior of Trinity; and when in Canterbury, from Thomas, Priest of St. Martin's." The last clause of this sentence deserves notice, as giving definiteness, and therefore credibility to the statement. It is either the truth, or a lie with a circumstance.

Again, we are told by Fitz-Stephen, that amidst all the luxury of the court, "he preserved such perfect moderation, that his rich table ever supplied a rich alms. I have heard from Robert his Confessor, the venerable Canon of Merton, that, while Chancellor, he never let the luxury in which he lived pollute him; though the King put snares in his way day and night. He kept his soul in fear, like the Elect of God, and, with his loins girt, strove against the allurements of the flesh. Indeed the business attending the administration of the kingdom, and the multitude of his engagements both public and private, put him, in a good measure, out of the reach of such temptations, for

‘*Otia si tolles, periere Cupidinis arcus.*’

And spotless himself, the Chancellor hated all uncleanness and immodesty in others: insomuch that, when a certain Richard de Ambli, one of his Chaplains, a man of high descent, had seduced a friend's wife, during her husband's long absence abroad, he not only dismissed him his service, but put him in chains in the Tower, and there confined him long and rigorously."

Now I would observe on these statements, that there seems to be no particular reason for regarding them with jealousy. They are not vague, like the accounts of

Becket's sudden conversion—nor guesses, like the hair shirt overrun with vermin—nor, lastly, are they written with a bias. It was no part of the wish of Becket's biographers to ascribe to him a life of uniform sanctity; in an age when Heloise could live a saint, and Abelard die one, an immaculate youth was scarce necessary to a holy latter end. Indeed, if we were disposed to push our argument to the utmost, we almost persuade ourselves that a case could be made out the other way; that their bias was to contrast the Archbishop with the Chancellor, and to exaggerate a gradual change of character into a miraculous conversion. But this would, in the present case, be gratuitous. It is enough for our purpose to show that there is *the same* authority for believing Becket austere in some of his practices, as for believing him ambitious in others. And I think that if the above statements of Fitz-Stephen obtain credit, Becket will escape the imputation of having taken up an entirely new set of notions, when he sacrificed himself for the honour of God.

There are, however, two detailed charges brought against him, respecting this period of his life, which may be considered to require a particular answer.

1. There exists, among the records of Battle Abbey, a very minute account of a transaction in which Becket is said to have been implicated, and which, if it can be trusted for correctness in its report of conversations, does certainly amount to a proof that, in the year 1157, Becket allowed a claim to be asserted by the King in a single instance, which claim, in the year 1163, he would not allow to be formally embodied in writing, and recognized as the permanent law of the land.

According to the record of Battle Abbey, a claim had for some time been put forward by Hilary, Bishop of Chichester, interfering with the chartered liberties of that

convent. This claim was supported by Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, and through his influence was for some time recognized by Henry II. But when the question was at last to be definitely settled, and for that purpose a great number of the chief nobility, lay as well as clerical, were assembled, it so chanced that Hilary gave great offence by resting his claim on the assumed superiority of a Pope's mandate to a King's chartered grant; and after receiving a severe rebuke from the King for comparing the Pope's authority "*ab hominibus concessa*," with his own "*divine right*," was reminded by the Chancellor, that the ground which he took was scarcely consistent with the oath of allegiance.

Such is the substance of the report, as far as it affects the question before us. And it must be owned that there is no reason to suspect such a document of any intentional misrepresentation to Becket's prejudice. But even if we admit the exact faithfulness of the whole report, still the inconsistency which it proves is hardly such as to imply dishonesty. In the first place, there is a sufficient interval between 1157 and 1163 to make room for some real change of opinion. Next, even supposing that Becket's opinion was the same at both times, still in the first instance he had no power to resist, in the second he was able to resist effectually; and lastly, the difference, at that time acknowledged, between the demand to which he assented in 1157, and which he refused in 1163, is much greater than may be supposed by a modern reader. An occasional act of usurpation was not in those days so easily, as at present, construed into a precedent; and we know, as a fact, that the very claims, of which the formal assertion was so warmly resisted at Clarendon, were cheerfully submitted to even by Becket himself, while they were acknowledged to be tyrannical. But the clearest

proof of the distinction drawn at the time between an occasional concession and a written acknowledgement, is furnished us by Nicholas of Rouen. The account he gives of his interview with the Empress Matilda contains her comments on the famous constitutions of Clarendon. He tells us:—"With far the greater number she found fault; and *what offended her above all was their being reduced to writing*, as well as the attempt to exact from the Bishops a *promise of their observance*; 'for this,' she said, 'was without precedent.' In conclusion, when I pressed her earnestly to mention some expedient for bringing about peace, we suggested this to her, and she assented. If the King applies to her for advice, she will recommend a compromise on these conditions,—that *the ancient customs of the Kingdom shall still be observed, but without being reduced to writing, or enforced by a promise*; and that neither the Bishops should *abuse* the liberty of the Church, nor the civil judges *overturn* it."

Becket then was willing to concede as much himself, as he had allowed Henry to claim in the transaction which has been brought up against him, and therefore, supposing it real, it is not very important.

But, in the next place, we see great reason to suspect the truth of the whole story; not, indeed, that we suppose it misrepresented with a view to malign Becket—that is out of the question,—but because I suspect that the transaction, as it really took place, was much less creditable to the convert than the record admits; and that if it is incorrectly stated in these points, it may be in all.

In the summer of 1168, when Becket's affairs wore the most unpromising aspect, and when the Pope seemed to have abandoned him to the mercy of his enemies, he wrote a very earnest letter of remonstrance, enumerating the grievances which the Church had suffered, and exonerating

himself from the charge of having been accessory to them. After mentioning many acts of oppression to which the Church had been subjected before he had any thing to do with its administration, he proceeds :—

“ And what success had the Bishop of Chichester against the Abbot of Battle ; when on his daring to speak before the Court, of Apostolic privileges, and to denounce the Abbot excommunicate, he was forthwith compelled to communicate with him in the face of all present, without even the form of Absolution, and to receive him to the kiss of peace ? For such was the King’s pleasure, and that of the Court, which dared not to oppose his will in any thing. And this, most holy Father, happened in the time of my predecessor, and your Holiness.”

The whole transaction, as here described, seems to have been a most disgraceful one, and to have been intentionally disguised in the Abbey record. And moreover, it appears that Becket’s conscience was quite easy upon the subject. For as the circumstances were generally known, and as the part Becket had himself taken in it (if indeed he took any) must still have been fresh in the minds of many, it is scarce credible that he should have so gratuitously appealed to it, and on such an occasion, if it could have had a turn given to it unfavourable to himself. So much for the affair of Battle Abbey.

2. The remaining charge, viz. that in order to prosecute the war of Toulouse he levied heavy contributions on the Church, seems to be much better founded. For though we attach no great weight to Lord Lyttleton’s author, Gilbert Foliot, and though we think that the 49th letter in the collection (Ep. Joan. Saresb.) was addressed to Becket himself, not to the King, as Lord Lyttleton supposes, yet we are furnished with evidence which can hardly be disputed, in a letter from John of Salisbury to Bartholo-

mew, Bishop of Exeter, written in the summer of 1166. (Ep. Joan. Saresb. 159.)

After an allusion to the above-mentioned exactions, John of Salisbury goes on to say :—

“ But perhaps it will be said that the imposition of the tax, and the whole in short of this disturbance, is to be attributed to the Archbishop, who then had complete influence over the King, and made this suggestion to him. Now I know that this was not the case : for he only allowed the measure to pass, he did not sanction it. Inasmuch however as he was the instrument of injustice, it is a suitable punishment to him, that he should be persecuted now by the very person, whom he then preferred to his Supreme Benefactor.”

This is an acknowledgment against which we have nothing to advance. It is clear that Becket was on this occasion accessory to heavy, and even iniquitous exactions, and we know of no palliation for his conduct, except the fact that he seems never to have forfeited the friendship of Theobald, who to the last regarded him with the affection of a father, and spoke of him as “ our Archdeacon, our intimate friend and counsellor.” (Ep. J. S. 70.)

To this charge, then, we are constrained to plead guilty ; but still we do not think it warrants the inference which has been drawn from it. “ After such testimonies,” says Lord Lyttleton, “ of Becket’s zeal to maintain the royal prerogative against the exorbitant claims of Rome and the Church, it was no wonder that Henry should believe him no bigot. And that opinion was unquestionably the cause of this unhappy choice, which proved a source of great disquiet to that monarch and his kingdom.” Now, I do not believe that Becket’s zeal in exacting the above mentioned sums of money arose from, or, what is more to the purpose, seemed to arise from “ a zeal to maintain the

royal prerogatives against the Church." Becket's own eager character leaves me at no loss to account for his zeal in prosecuting a war which he had begun with success, and through which he saw his way clearly. Nor is there any need for supposing, that, when, on his resources failing him, he applied for contributions to the Church, he was actuated by any deeper motive than a belief that through his intimacy with Theobald he might thus supply his wants most readily. The notion prevalent at the time seems to have been, not that on such occasions he lent himself to the King's wishes, but that the King was governed by his. In the year 1161, John of Salisbury wrote to him respecting the war in Normandy.

"Those who have returned say, and I would it were true, that the King and Court are entirely governed by your advice ; and that the peace depends upon your advocating it." (Ep. J. S. 77.)

And so conscious was the King of the influence Becket had exerted over him, that after the misunderstanding had arisen between them, he could not bear to be reminded of it. In the winter of 1165, the Bishop of Lisieux informed Becket, that, among other means resorted to by those who wished to foment irritation, "They added that you had said among your friends, that the Prince's youthful and undisciplined passions ought to meet with no encouragement, but rather steady opposition ; that you were acquainted with all the movements of the King's mind, its levity, and the good points it aspired to : and that he in return acknowledged the vast superiority of your understanding, which had shown itself so clearly on many occasions, in surmounting difficulties, and turning opportunities to the best account. These words, they said, had been reported by some malignant person to the King, and had enraged him to an implacable degree."

If the footing on which Becket stood with the King was such as these passages would lead us to infer, it was not very likely that on his appointment to the Archbishopric he should sink into the tool of his *quondam* pupil.

As to the "important reformation" which Lord Lyttleton *assumes* that the King intended to undertake, we very much doubt whether such a scheme ever entered his head till more than a year after Becket's consecration; and on this account we cannot feel it to be "incredible that he should not have revealed his intentions concerning that affair, to a minister whom he was accustomed to trust in his most secret councils."

Upon the whole, we do not think that any charge which has been brought forward against Becket, when Chancellor, implies more than what his whole subsequent history confirms—that he was a man of very keen feelings, who followed up with vigour whatever he took in hand, and was, perhaps, ambitiously eager about the success of his projects, and who, moreover, if we are to believe what we are told of his self-denying habits, was the very person to devote himself to a cause which afforded scope at once to his most chivalrous and most ascetic feelings.

The light in which this singular man was regarded while Chancellor, by his clerical friends, may, we think, be not unfairly collected from some lines in which John of Salisbury dedicates his book, "*De nugis Curialium*," which appeared in 1160. They are as follows:—

AUCTOR AD OPUS SUUM.

Si mihi credideris, linguam cohibebis, et aulæ
 Limina non intres, pes tuus esto domi—
 Aspectus hominum cautus vitare memento,
 Et tibi commissas claude libelle notas.
 Omnia sint suspecta tibi, quia publicus hostis
 Et Majestatis diceris esse reus.

Ignis edax gladiusque ferox tibi forte parantur,
Aut te polluta subruet hostis aqua.

* * * *

Stultos, prudentes nimium, pravosque caveto,
Et quos insignes garrula lingua facit.
Si quis amat verum tibi sit gratissimus hospes.
Si quem delectat gloria vana, cave.

Jure patronatus illum cole, qui velit esse
Et sciat, et possit, tutor ubique tuus.

Ergo quærat *lux cleri*, gloria gentis
Anglorum, Regis dextera forma boni.

Quæsitus Regni tibi cancellarius Angli,
Primus sollicita mente petendus erit.

Hic est qui Regni leges cancellat iniquas,
Et mandata pii Principis æqua facit.

Si quid obest populo, vel moribus est inimicum,
Quicquid id est, per eum desinit esse nocens.

Publica privatis qui præfert commoda semper,
Quodque dat in plures ducit in ære suo.

Quod dat habet, quod habet dignis donat vice versa,
Spargit, sed sparsæ multiplicantur opes.

Utque virum virtus animi, sic gratia formæ
Undique mirandum gentibus esse facit.

* * * *

Hujus nosse domum non res est ardua; cuivis
Non duce quæsito semita trita patet.

Nota domus cunctis, vitio non cognita soli,
Lucet; ab hac lucem dives, egenus, habent.

And with this we will, for the present, close our inquiries respecting Becket's character, which seems to have been in the first instance misrepresented by his contemporaries, and then retailed to us through misrepresented misrepresentations.

PART III.—MEANS USED TO SECURE HIS ELECTION AS ARCHBISHOP.

WE now come to the remaining point which we stated our intention to notice—the means used to secure Becket's election to the Archbishopric; and that we may not be suspected of under-stating the arguments for the view which we question, we will give them in the words of Lord Lyttleton:—

“ Him, [Becket] therefore, he [the King] resolved to advance to that dignity [the Archbishopric] at this critical time. Becket himself much desired it, if we may believe Gilbert Foliot, Bishop of London, who, in a letter which he wrote to him afterwards, and on another occasion, affirms ‘that his eyes were watchfully fixed on the Archbishopric before Theobald died, and that he did all he could to secure it to himself on that event.’ As this prelate [Gilbert Foliot] then [when the letter was sent] possessed the confidence of the King, he might be assured of the fact from the mouth of that prince; and *without such information, or other very strong evidence, it is not probable that he would have ventured to charge Becket with it in such positive terms.* Some friends of the latter, in their accounts of his life, assert indeed that when Henry first acquainted him with his intention of making him Archbishop, he gave that monarch a fair warning ‘that it would certainly produce a quarrel between them, because his conscience would not allow him to suffer many things which he knew the King would require, and even already presumed to do in ecclesiastical matters.’ They add, that as he foresaw that by accepting this offer he should lose the favour either of God or of the King, he would fain

have refused it, and was with great difficulty prevailed upon to accept it by the Pope's Legate.

“ But that any part of this apology for him is true, I greatly doubt, as it stands contradicted by *the affirmation of Gilbert Foliot*, which *in this particular* is evidence of far greater credit than the word of Becket himself, and as it ill agrees with the methods which were undeniably taken to procure his election—methods he must have known to be very inconsistent with the canons of the Church, and what was then called its freedom.

* * * * *

“ It appears from an epistle sent to Becket afterwards by all the Bishops and Clergy of England, that, as far as they durst, they signified at this time their disapprobation of the King's desire to promote him to Canterbury ; and that in spite of the popularity which he so much affected, the whole nation cried out against it. We are also assured by the same evidence, *which can hardly be rejected*, that Matilda did her utmost to dissuade her son from it. But though upon other occasions Henry paid her the greatest respect, he determined to act in this matter by his own judgment ; and having taken his part, as he believed on good reasons, his passions were heated by the opposition he met with, and his affection for his favourite concurred with the pride of royal dignity to make him adhere to his purpose.

“ Nor was Becket himself less eager than his master in this affair, if we may believe the testimony of the Bishop of London, who says in the letter I have quoted before, that as soon as the death of Archbishop Theobald was known to that minister, he hastened to England in order to procure the vacant See for himself. Yet he found such unwillingness in the electors, that notwithstanding all his power, and the address which he always showed in the

conduct of business, he was not elected till above a twelve-month after his predecessor's decease.

“ Henry at last growing impatient of so long a delay, sent over from Normandy his justiciary, Richard de Luci, to bear his royal mandate to all the monks of Canterbury and suffragan Bishops, that without further deliberation they should immediately elect his Chancellor, Becket, to be their Archbishop. So great a minister who brought such an order from a King, whom no person in his realm had ever disobeyed,—except the Lord Mortimer, whose rebellion had ended so disgracefully to himself,—could hardly be resisted by ecclesiastics. Yet the Bishop of London had the courage to resist him; and, *if we may believe what he himself avers in his letter to Becket*, did not give way till banishment and proscription had been denounced against himself and all his relations by the justiciary of the kingdom. The same threats, he tells us, were used to the other electors: all were made to understand that if they refused to comply, they would be deemed the King's enemies, and treated as such with the utmost rigour. ‘The sword of the King,’ says the above mentioned prelate to Becket, ‘was in your hands, ready to turn its edge against any on whom you should frown; that sword which you had before plunged into the bowels of your holy mother, the Church.’ He explains these last words to mean the wound which had been given to the privileges of the Church by the imposition which the Chancellor had laid on the Clergy for the war of Toulouse; and concludes these severe remonstrances on the irregularity of his election with the following words:—‘That if, as he had himself asserted in a letter to which this was an answer, the liberty of the church was the life of the church, he then had left her lifeless.’ It was, indeed, a more violent and arbitrary proceeding than any that had hitherto

been known in this reign. For though Henry ever since his accession to the crown had maintained the indisputable prerogative of it, not to let any Archbishop or Bishop be chosen without his recommendation, which the chapters and others concerned had always obeyed, yet still some appearance of a free election was kept; the electors were influenced rather than compelled, or at least the compulsion which they were really under was decently hidden. But in this instance all the terrors of power were employed without disguise, and even beyond the bounds of justice."

Such is Lord Lyttleton's account of Becket's election; which, as will have been observed, is drawn entirely from two sources.

1. A letter to Becket from the Bishops and Clergy of the province of Canterbury—"evidence which can hardly be rejected."

And, 2. A letter written shortly after the former, by Gilbert Foliot, who "*might*" have derived his information from the King, and who, "*without such information, or other very strong evidence,*" would never "*have ventured to charge Becket in such positive terms.*" Indeed, whose "*affirmation*" is sufficient to set aside the united testimony of all Becket's historians, since "*in this particular it is an evidence of far greater credit than that of Becket himself.*"

The first of these letters, the "evidence which can hardly be rejected," is brought forward to prove the unpopularity of Becket's election with both clergy and laity, and the opposition of the empress Matilda. The first of these charges is so vague, and the second so immaterial, that we do not feel much concerned about the "evidence," whether it can be "rejected" or no. It may, however, be just worth while to state the circumstances under which this letter was written.

It is a well known fact, that in the year 1165, all the

clergy who ventured to take part with Becket were, with their relations, obliged to leave the kingdom; and that those who remained were entirely under the control of Henry. For some time things went on very smoothly. Becket's own authority, unsupported by the Pope, was not sufficient to compel the obedience of his suffragans; and as long as the state of Alexander's affairs was such as to render Henry's displeasure an object of fear with him, Becket, who, as was said of him at the time, "only barked when he was prepared to bite," thought it prudent to remain inactive. This state of things continued till the spring of 1166, at which time the Pope felt himself in a condition to authorize effective measures, and gave Becket permission to excommunicate all those of the King's officers who had taken a decided part against him; to suspend the Bishop of Salisbury, for an act of insubordination; and if these measures failed, to come to extremities with the King himself. Of this the King's party obtained speedy intelligence; and since, according to the ecclesiastical law of the time, an appeal against a sentence of excommunication was only valid if made before the sentence was pronounced, the Bishop of Lisieux, and other messengers of consequence, were immediately dispatched to Pontigni, to give Becket formal notice that they appealed against him as a suspected judge. They arrived just too late to effect their purpose. Becket had that very day left Pontigni with a secret and very singular object; and before they were able to convey their message to him, had pronounced the dreaded sentence in the church of Vezelay.

In the mean time, orders had been sent to all the ports along the coast of England and Normandy, to search the person of every one who passed from one country to the other; and to inflict the severest punishment on any one on whom letters should be found either from the Pope or

Becket. But here, too, the vigilance of the King's party proved ineffectual; the sentences were formally delivered to the Bishop of London, with orders to forward them to all the Bishops of the province of Canterbury; and the result was, that an evasive answer was returned to Becket, either really or nominally, from the collective body of the Clergy.

This letter is Lord Lyttleton's unquestionable evidence, written, as it professes to be, (1) by a body of persons from among whom all Becket's friends had been banished—(2) who had no option left them of neutrality—(3) who had just been balked in a twofold attempt to evade his authority—(4) who could find no apology for their own conduct except in disparaging his.

The other letter, that of Gilbert Foliot, is of much greater importance, and charges Becket with having been accessory to proceedings very inconsistent with his subsequent professions.

Now we cannot deny that Gilbert Foliot "*might*" have derived his information from the King. But that "without such information, or other very strong evidence, he would never have ventured to charge Becket in such definite terms" does, we own, seem to us a much more questionable proposition.

This Gilbert Foliot was supposed by Becket to have been the real author of the letter above alluded to, which was nominally sent from the whole body of the clergy, and he had in consequence received a severe reprimand: in answer to it he wrote the letter, or rather pamphlet, we now speak of. The reason he assigns for writing it may in some measure affect our views of its credibility. He says:—

"Accused as we are, in public documents, of attempting to subvert the Church of God, to confound right and

wrong, &c., we can no longer keep silence, or permit so unjust an impression of our conduct to gain a belief now, and go down uncontradicted to posterity.”

This letter, then, was no private affair between Gilbert and Becket, which must depend upon its truth for its poignancy. It was a *published pamphlet*, to vindicate his conduct in the eyes of his own generation and posterity—an ex-parte statement, addressed to persons who had no other source of information, and who, if they could be deceived without it, could be deceived by it. Moreover, it was an ex-parte statement which could hardly be answered; for the coast was at this time so strictly blockaded, that without great danger to the bearer, no letter from Becket could reach England; and it was not very likely that Becket would risk the safety of his friends to carry on a paper war.

Lastly, it should not be altogether left out of sight who this Gilbert Foliot was, to whose testimony under such circumstances so much importance is attached.—[See the account of him in p. 38 & Seq.]

These facts, admitted on all sides, prepare us to believe another on the assertion of Becket's friends. They assert, and Gilbert when charged with it does not directly deny, that on the death of Theobald, he aspired to the vacant See of Canterbury; and that whatever opposition Becket's election met with, was attributable to this circumstance. Neither is there any thing in the assertion, either improbable in itself, or discreditable to Gilbert. A Benedictine Monk, highly celebrated for learning and piety, who had been a Bishop for fourteen years, and was esteemed by the nobility, lay as well as clerical, might fairly compete with Becket for the highest station in the Church. And the reluctance which he afterwards manifested to acknow-

ledge Becket's authority, might be the natural and even pardonable consequence of a failure.

But however leniently we may be disposed to think of Gilbert's conduct, he clearly was not the person to judge impartially of his successful rival. Nor is his evidence rendered in any way more credible by the peculiar circumstances under which he wrote the letter in question. Had this letter been, as Lord Lyttleton supposes, addressed privately to Becket, we still should have regarded it with something short of confidence. But being, at it is, a published pamphlet "vindicating his character to his own and future times," we confess we do think it very questionable indeed.

Such is the evidence of Gilbert Foliot; but at the same time that we venture to question its credibility, we hesitate to claim any great reliance for those "some of Becket's friends," whose word Lord Lyttleton so unceremoniously sets aside. We had rather seek for information from historians who may be supposed to have taken a less warm interest in the events they relate.

The first we shall quote is Gervase of Canterbury, whose bias, like that of all other contemporary historians, was certainly in favour of Becket, but who wrote at a time when the state of parties in the Church was cross-divided, and when other controversies had superseded that in which Becket was concerned. Gervase was admitted a Monk of Canterbury the same day that Becket was consecrated, [*Script. Hist. Ang. a Twysden, p. 1418.*] and therefore, though he could not speak from personal knowledge to the circumstances of the election, still he derived his information as nearly as possible from the fountain head. His account is :—

"A. D. 1161. Died Theobald, of venerated memory, Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, and

Legate of the Apostolic See, on the 18th of April, in the 22nd year of his Pontificate. At this time flourished Thomas, Archdeacon of Canterbury, and Chancellor, the most puissant person in the country; glorious in name, pre-eminent in wisdom, the admiration of all for his nobleness of mind, the terror of his enemies and opponents, the friend of the King, and second to him in estate, nay, the lord and master of the King himself."

"A. D. 1162. King Henry, having affairs which detained him across the water, sent his illustrious Chancellor, Thomas, to England, for the despatch of public business; principally, however, with the intention of his being elected to the Archbishopric of the Church of Canterbury. In a short time, viz. the month of May, commissioners on the part, and acting by command, of his Lordship the King, arrived at Canterbury; to wit, the Bishops of Chichester, Exeter, and Rochester, the Abbot of Battle, and his brother Richard de Luci; carrying the King's commands, under his seal, to the Convent, for the Prior, with other Monks, to meet the Bishops and Clergy of England, at London, and proceed to the Election of an Archbishop and Primate. On receiving this notification, the venerable Prior Wibert, and his brethren, with invocation of the Holy Ghost, in the name of the Holy Trinity, elected the Chancellor, Thomas."

It appears from this account that much the greater part of the interval between the death of Theobald and the election of Thomas arose from the King's delay in fixing on a successor, and that it probably arose from the common cause of such delays, avarice. Theobald died April 17, 1161; Becket was not sent to England till 1162; the mandate to elect did not arrive till May, and the consecration was celebrated June 2. This relation seems to leave little time for strenuous opposition; and the silence of

Gervase confirms the presumption that nothing of the sort took place. But the validity of the inference will be better appreciated, on referring to this same Gervase's account of the three following elections—those of Richard, Baldwin, and Hubert.

The other historian to whom we shall refer is Radulphus de Diceto, a person who had access to the very best information on the subject, and who, belonging as he did to a party to which Gervase was strongly opposed, may be regarded as a very good supplementary evidence. Radulphus de Diceto was Archdeacon of London at the time of Becket's election, and during part of the subsequent troubles acted as secretary to Henry. He tells us in his short but accurate records :—

“ At a general convocation of the Clergy of the Province of Canterbury, held at London, in the presence of Henry the King's son, and the Justiciaries, Thomas, Archdeacon of Canterbury and Chancellor, was formally elected to the Archbishopric, *no one objecting* ; and the writ of Election was read by Henry, Bishop of Winton, at Westminster, in the refectory of the Abbey, without opposition, on the Thursday after Pentecost.”

This may seem to be sufficient, but we will risk the appearance of an anticlimax, to acquaint our readers with the view which John of Salisbury took of Gilbert Foliot's charge against his friend. In the autumn of 1166, Becket sent to him the letter which he had received from his suffragans, and which was more than suspected to be Gilbert's composition. He returned an answer, criticising this letter, point by point, and noticed the charge of which we now speak, as follows :—

“ As to the falsehoods which he has dared to assert respecting your Lordship's elevation, I care little for them. I was myself present at it, and saw it all. He was the

solitary individual who did not express pleasure at your nomination; and he, as was then evident, and is still abundantly so, had been foremost among the aspirants to your Lordship's See. Yet even he was soon shamed out of his opposition, for every one saw through his ambition and impudence. Whatever then were his secret intentions, (of these God takes cognizance) he was one of the first to give his vote in your favour, and the loudest in his praises of the election."

This certainly is the statement of a person anxious to speak and think well of Becket, but, if we may judge from what we have already seen, not anxious to deceive him. John of Salisbury, as his letters show, was no flatterer, and, except a wish to flatter, no motive can be assigned for his disguising a fact, with which he must have been acquainted, to a friend who was interested in knowing it.

Here then we shall close our inquiry, the result of which seems to be in some degree at variance with commonly received opinions. Upon the whole we think that there is little ground for asserting, either that Becket while Chancellor was remarkable for his indifference to religion, or while Archbishop for his pretensions to it—or that his election, though he was certainly the nominee of the King, was procured by means at all more violent than was usual on such occasions. And if this is not overstating the result of our inquiry, we think it goes far to exonerate Becket's character at least from the imputation of insincerity.

APPENDIX II.

EXTRACT FROM THE CAVE MS.

[THIS is a statement, by the Bishop and Chapter of London, of the case of the excommunication of the Bishop in 1169, which was pronounced without previous citation. The Archbishop argues for the validity of it: the Bishop answers. The following is an abstract of its contents:—

The Archbishop.

Notorious offences are excepted from the ordinary rules of excommunication. And the Bishop's offence was notorious: first, in siding with the King against the Archbishop in the council of London, and afterwards allowing himself to be taken into the King's confidence and intimacy, and so committing himself to the course he was pursuing: Secondly, in not publishing or carrying into effect his excommunications.

The Bishop.

Some sentences *de facto* are not sentences *really*, and are in themselves null and void—e. g. when the purpose is to force a man to commit a crime, or when the sentence comes from one who has no authority over the person sentenced.

And excommunications which violate the prescribed order; both that which defends persons who have appealed, and that which enjoins a threefold warning beforehand, and in the case of a Bishop the consent of a Synod, are of this class; i. e. are in themselves null and void.

The prescribed order might indeed be set aside in the case of notorious offences. But he denied being guilty of such offences. In his proceedings at the Councils, and afterwards, he had only showed a proper regard to circumstances; and he had at times remonstrated with the King. And the charge of disobedience in not carrying the excommunications into effect, was, in the first place, untrue in point of fact; for he had obeyed as far as circumstances permitted. But were it even true, was it at all certain that he was *bound* to obey? The Archbishop had no claim as Metropolitan, for he had taken no oath as Bishop of London; and the Church of London did not involve him, as its head, in any obligations of that kind; rather he, as the head, ought to release it. And it was of right, too, the Metropolitan Church. Even as

Legate, the Archbishop's authority was doubtful ; for he had not appeared in his province since his appointment ; and the proconsular laws under the Empire give no authority in this case.

The Archbishop.

Even if his offences were not notorious, they were still sufficiently certain. The Pope Sylvester had acted on one occasion without the previous forms, purely on the strength of his own conviction.

The Bishop.

Laws ought to be brought forward ; not particular instances. That of Pope Sylvester was in the first place doubtful as a fact ; and was no precedent to act upon were it true. For a Pope was bound by the old rule of the Church, as others were. And even if he were not, his Legates did not come in to his immunity.

The Archbishop.

The Bishop was at any rate guilty of a *notorious* offence when he sided with, and appealed for, the King, against a sentence impending on him, for notorious and long unpunished crimes.

The Bishop.

The whole Church joined with him in that appeal.

The Archbishop¹.

An appeal was inadmissible in the case of a notorious crime like the King's, and coming from persons who had received no order from him to make it, and who had no interest in the matter ; the Church evidently not being interested in favour of a notorious criminal.

The Bishop.

The King had made repeated offers of arranging matters amicably ; and appeals were admissible from any persons, whether acting under orders or not, whether interested or not.

The Archbishop.

His appointment, of Pope's Legate, nullified all appeals against him.

The Bishop.

Appeals could be made under the Roman law, even against the highest authority, when acting by means of a subordinate one ; as against the prince when acting through the president of a province ; much more then could they be made, when the Pope had not acted himself ; but the Archbishop only. And, if even no appeal could be made, still that did not warrant irregular proceedings on the part of the power which could not be appealed from ; which proceedings were therefore in themselves null and void ; even without an appeal being made.

The Archbishop.

If rules were acted up to *as far as it was possible*, it was the same as if they were *really* acted up to.

This was his case. It had not been *in his power* to give the three-fold warning, in consequence of the dangers which messengers were

¹ The order has been varied : the two, marked with an asterisk below, coming in here in the original.

exposed to ; or to hold a council of his own Bishops ; for which latter he had substituted a foreign council, the next best thing.*

The Bishop.

That a rule had been acted up to as *far as it could* be, could not be allowed to stand in the place of it having been *really* acted up to ; as might be shown from common law, where a conclusion was not allowed without the previous steps necessary to it, even though those steps might have been followed up as far as it was possible. But it was not clear that the Archbishop had done all in his power. He had conveyed information of the sentence when it had been pronounced ; why could he not have given notice of it before ?*

The Archbishop

Makes some special charges against the Bishop, of having countenanced incontinency in the Clergy ; for which he had been commanded by him to make satisfaction before a council of Bishops. Having neglected to do this, he had made himself liable to sentence of excommunication.

The Bishop.

Were the charge true, he was not answerable to the Archbishop for his conduct. And it was not true. For he had publicly censured those proceedings among the Clergy. And as for ordaining the sons of Clergy, though strictly speaking it was irregular, yet it was impossible to reject all of them, and he had given directions to his Archdeacons to attend to the Canons, in the persons they presented to him. They, being the proper officers to look into these things, were more responsible for what was done than himself.

The Archbishop.

Finally granting that the sentence is illegal, it is still of force for the time. The Justinian code lays down that a person excommunicated by a priest, without the cause being proved, *must apply to a higher authority*, and having obtained leave, then may return to communion. And it appears further, that such sentence, if set at nought to begin with, subjects the person to the confirmation of it, for his contempt. Pope Gregory lays down this law. The Council of Sardis decrees, that a priest, if unjustly excommunicated, must appeal to the neighbouring Bishops ; but that, if he despises the sentence to begin with, he is to lose all claim to have it invalidated. The Council of Antioch speaks to the same effect with respect to Bishops ; who are to appeal to another Synod, when one has sentenced them unjustly.

The Bishop.

The illegal sentences here are *unjust* ones, morally speaking, not those against rule. They are *de jure* in a certain sense. They are therefore not cases in point.]

EXTRACT FROM THE CAVE MS¹.

ARCHIEPISCOPUS dicit se publice Excommunicasse Londoniensem Episcopum, ex justis et notoriis causis : scilicet tanquam incentorem Schismatis, manifestumque turbatorem Ecclesiasticæ pacis, et reum inobedientiæ jugis. Asserit eum, Schismatis occasione, quosdam Ecclesiæ rebelles et Ecclesiasticarum liberatum oppressores manifeste fovisse, Canones que ac Mandata sua de coercendis et puniendis illis palam hactenus contempsisse. Propter hæc velut manifesta et, sicut ait, notoria, nec etiam Ordinem in ejus Excommunicatione servandum putavit : sed, licet absentem ignorantem et indefensum, juste tamen et Canonice, sicut allegat, damnavit, tanquam operum evidentia de crimine suo confessum. Scribit enim Ambrosius “ Manifesta Accusatione non indigent.” Item Stephanus Papa “ De manifesta” inquit “ et nota plurimis causa non sunt quærendi testes.” Sicut de fornicatore Corinthio scilicet exposuit Ambrosius, “ In aliis quidem non est judiciis sine Accusatore damnare : Quia Dominus Judam, cum esset fur, quia non est accusatus, minime abjecit. Cognito autem prædicto opere fornicatoris, pellendum eum de cætu fraternitatis Apostolus censuit. Omnes enim crimen sciebant ; publice namque novercam suam loco uxoris habebat. In qua re nec opus erat, nec tergiversatione aliqua crimen tegi poterat. De quo Apostolus, ‘ Absens, inquit, facie, presens autem auctoritate Spiritus qui nusquam deest, jam judicavi ut præsens, eum, qui hoc admisit, tradi Satanæ in interitum carnis.’ ” Juxta quod item Nicholas Papa ait “ Quæ Lotharius” inquit “ Rex fecit, Accusatione non indigent. Manifesta sunt opera carnis, quæ sunt fornicatio, immunditia & ce.” Dimiserat siquidem uxorem propriam, et aliam superinductam publice tenebat : sicque, licet nec accusatus nec citatus, Canonice tamen excommunicatus est.

Similiter itaque, quamvis præter Ordinem Judicarium, recte tamen a se damnatum Londoniensem Episcopum asserit Archiepiscopus ; tanquam Schismatis studio manifestum pacis Ecclesiasticæ perturbatorem, et publice, opere contemptus, ipsorum Canonum et suorum Mandatorum inexcusabilem transgressorem.

Quod enim pacem Ecclesiasticam manifeste perturbavit, hinc arguit : Quod, cum Dominus Rex contra sacras Leges et Canones

¹ [Some faulty passages in the MS. have been corrected on conjecture ; where the alteration required was only slight. The rest have been left standing.]

ac Ecclesiæ Libertates plurima sibi de consuetudine Regni servanda publice in Concilio suo commemoraverit, et ab Episcopis exegerit; idem Episcopus, ut asserit, factus ibidem tanquam canis mutus non valens latrare, non ascendit ex adverso nec posuit se Murum pro Domo Domini, ut staret in prælio; sed etiam, quod longe deterius est, prætextu Schismatis Romanæ Ecclesiæ, Regi condescendendum suadere palam enisus est, Coepiscoporum animos ipse potissimum enervans, quos potissimum et debuit et potuit ad contradicendum animare, sicut inter eos potestate primus et auctoritate præcipuus. Quod eum affirmat fecisse, non ob aliud quidem, nisi ne gratiam Regis amitteret, quam tunc præ cæteris obtinebat; cum e contra sic ait Anacletus: “Nihil sit illo pastore miserius qui luporum laudibus gloriatur, quibus si placere voluerit, atque ab his animari delegerit, erit hinc ovibus magna perniciēs.” Itaque sic, prosequitur, pro Episcopi conniventia Rex factus audacior, et ad exigenda, quæ non decuit satis, ardentior, cum aliquamdiu cæteri substitissent, ipse, deinceps offensus, durus, terribilis, et in multis adversus esse cœpit. Eundem autem Episcopum in uberiores satis familiaritatem admisit. Sic igitur infert indubitabile palam esse, quod Ecclesiæ pacem turbaverit. “Facientis enim” ut ait Joannes “proculdubio culpam habet, qui, quod potest corrigere, negligit emendare.” Scriptum quippe est: “Non solum qui faciunt, sed etiam qui consentiunt facientibus, participes judicantur. Negligere enim, cum possit quis deturbare perversos, nihil aliud est quam fovere: nec caret scrupulo consensionis occulte, qui manifesto facinori desinit obviare.” Item Innocentius: “Error cui non resistitur approbatur, et veritas cum minime defensatur opprimitur.” Item Gregorius: “Consentit erranti, qui ad resecanda quæ corrigi debent non occurrit.”

Deinde, sicut prosequitur Archiepiscopus, cum formidabili metu et multis oppressionibus, Dominus Rex in exactis obtinisset, Idem Archiepiscopus non multo post, metus instantia reversus ad cor, et dolore cordis tractus intrinsecus, nec sui vel suorum reveritus pericula vel damna, ubi exilium subiit, ibi acerrimam de promissis contra Dominum et Ecclesiam pœnitentiam agens, post sui suorumque proscriptionem, et post expectationem annuam, in eorundem promissorum exactores, observatoresque eisdem consentientes, generaliter et publice sententiam Anathematis dedit. Quam ut per Angliam denunciaret, in vi obedientiæ mox Episcopo Londoniensi, Suffraganeorum

Episcoporum Decano, scripsit et injunxit; mandans eisdem et aliorum quorundam quæ secundum Deum erant, executionem, in virtute similiter obedientiæ. Qui, sicut ait, nihil mandatorum implens, sed tergiversationibus quibusdam aperte subterfugiens, sicque operis evidentia crimen suum manifeste confessus, aperte sententiam Excommunicationis incurrit. Canonum siquidem violatores, et eis consentientes, sub Anathemate constituit Adrianus Papa dicens: "Generali Decreto constituimus, ut execrandum Anathema fiat, et velut prævaricatæ Fidei Catholicæ semper apud Deum reus existat, quicumque Regum, vel Episcoporum, aut Potentum deinceps, Romanorum Decreta Pontificum in quoquam crediderit vel promiserit violanda." Item Damasius Papa: "Violatores Canonum graviter a Sanctis Patribus judicantur, et a Sancto Spiritu, cujus instinctu dictati sunt, damnantur: Quia Spiritum Sanctum blasphemare non incongrue videntur, qui contra eosdem Sanctos Canones aliquid vel agunt vel loquuntur, vel facere volentibus consentiunt." Item Gregorius: "Nulli fas est vel velle, vel posse transgredi Apostolicæ Sedis Præcepta. Sit ergo ruinæ suæ dolore prostratus, quisquis Apostolicis voluerit contraire Decretis; nec locum deinceps inter Sacerdotes habeat, sed extorris a Sancto Ministerio fiat. Non de ejus Judicio quisquam postea curam habeat. Damnatus a Sancta et Apostolica Ecclesia sua, inobedientia atque præsumptione, a quoquam esse non dubitatur, qui non solum præfatæ Sanctæ Ecclesiæ jussionibus parere debuit, sed etiam aliis, ne præterirent, inculcare. Sitque alienus a Divinis et Pontificalibus officiis, qui noluerit Apostolicis obedire Præceptis."

Hunc etiam reatum, ut Archiepiscopus addit, sibi palam Episcopus auxit, cum Mandata sua, de prosequendis quæ secundum Deum erant, tam contumaciter tamque frustratione declinavit, et manifeste subterfugit. Unde tanquam notorie reus, statim, Ordine Judiciario prætermisso, non indigne nominatim est Excommunicatus.

EPISCOPUS contra: Sententiam Excommunicationis in se quamvis de facto latam, de jure tamen tenere negat, velut aperte contra jus et ordinem Legum et Canonum datam. Multotiens siquidem, etsi de facto detur, nullatenus tamen apud Deum, vel apud homines ligat: veluti si quis excommunicetur ut compellatur ad malum; vel quod ut Schismaticus aut Hæreticus fiat aut permaneat. De talibus enim ait Papa Gelasius: "Cui est illata sententia, deponat errorem, et vacua est: si in-

justa est, tanto eam curare non debet, quanto apud Deum et ejus Ecclesiam neminem iniqua sententia gravare potest. Ita ergo se ea absolvi non desideret, qua se nullatenus ligatum videt." Si quis item vel majorem, vel parem sibi, vel alterius Parochianum excommunicet; patet quod nullum eorum aliquatenus Excommunicatio tenet; Scribit enim Calixtus Papa: "Nullus alterius terminos usurpet, nec alterius Parochianos excommunicare præsumat." Quare talis Excommunicatio nec rata erit, nec vires ulla habebit, quum nullus alterius Judicis, nisi sui, sententia tenebitur: ubi sicut in concilio, apud compendium, pro communi utilitate statutum est: "Cum alter Episcopus alterius Parochianum, causa deprædationis excommunicaverit: item et qui a Prælato suo in causa qualibet ad majorem Audientiam appellat, jam ejus Jurisdictioni quantum ad causam illam non subiaceat." Et ideo sicut nec judicari, sic nec etiam excommunicari, propter eam, ab illo deinceps potest, aut debet. Ut enim decrevit Sixtus Papa: "Quotiens Episcopi se a comprovincialibus suis, vel a Metropolitano prægravari putaverint, aut eos suspectos habuerint, mox Romanam appellent Sedem: et interim eos nullus excommunicare præsumat. Quod si aliter a quoquam fuerit præsumptum: nil erit, sed viribus carebit." Moris etiam quandoque fuit, in Excommunicationis sententia, sic et in aliis, ut eam suspenderet Appellatio, post etiam mox interposita. Si quidem in Digesto Scriptum est: "Integer status esse debet Provocatione interposita." Ergo si abstinere ordine quis jussus sit, et provocaverit, potest interim participare, cum sit hoc Constitutum, et sit Juris, ne quid pendente Appellatione moveatur; juxta quod adhuc obtinet: ut, si quis Clericorum ab officio fuerit Suspensus, et appellaverit, interim, pro Suspenso non habeatur: sicut nec Degradatus pro Degradato; necne Beneficio privatus, pro privato. Secus autem ideo forte obtinet in Excommunicatione, quia secum habet sui executionem; quia mox eliminat ab Ecclesia, et loquendi jus tollit. Provocari non potest ab executione sententiæ, proptereaque non ab Excommunicatione. Quamvis autem sequens Appellatio non suspenderit Excommunicationem, proculdubio tamen præcedens eam impedit ne fieri possit. Licetque de facto subsecuta fuerit: ipso jure tamen eam infirmat, et irritam facit; quia pristinum statum prorsus integrum Appellanti custodit. Item Excommunicationem contra censuram et ordinem Canonum factam nullius esse momenti constare debet: Ordo quippe servandus est: sic

enim statuit Adrianus Papa: "Nemo suspendendus est a Communionem, nisi evocatus ad causam minime occurrerit." Item in Concilio Parisiensi: "Nemo præpropere vel præpostere, scilicet nec commonitus, nec convictus, est judicandus." Item Augustinus: "In Episcoporum concilio constitutum est, nullum Clericum, qui nondum convictus est, suspendi a communione debere, nisi ad causam suam examinandum se non præsentaverit." Item: "Nos quenquam a Communionem prohibere non possumus, nisi aut sponte confessum aut convictum." Itaque cum excommunicatur qui nec convictus est nec confessus, immo nec auditus, immo nec citatus, immo nec commonitus; talis siquidem Excommunicatio nihil virium habere debet, veluti contra Canones vel Ordinem Ecclesiasticam facta. Sicut et "probatam" ut in Codice legitur, "sententiam contra solitum judiciorum ordinem, auctoritatem rei judicatæ non obtinere certum est." Item: "Ea quæ statuuntur adversus absentes, non per contumaciam scilicet, denunciationibus nequaquam ex more conventos, judicatæ rei firmitatem non obtinere." Quod utique multo ferventius in Excommunicationem tenendum est; quæ, quanto terribilius immaniusque præcipitat, scilicet in Diaboli potestatem, in ipsam etiam animæ mortem, tanto magis contra ordinem non est præcipitanda: præsertim in Episcopum qui nec excommunicari nec etiam audiri debet nisi in Synodo: Sicut testis est Julius Papa: "Nullus Episcopus" inquit "nisi in Legitima Synodo pulsatus, audiatur, vel judicetur, vel damnetur. Item Zaphyrius Papa: "Quilibet Episcopus non prius audiatur, vel judicetur, vel excommunicetur, quam regulariter vocatus sit ad suorum Conventum Episcoporum; et per eos ejus causa rationabiliter discernatur." Item Iginus Papa: "Nullus Metropolitanus, absque cæterorum omnium comprovincialium instantia, de causis Episcoporum aliquid agat: quia irritæ erunt, aliter actæ, quam in conspectu omnium ventilatæ." Item Calixtus Papa: "Si quis Metropolitanus, nisi quod ad suam solum propriam Parochiam pertinet, sine Concilio Comprovincialium omnium Episcoporum, agere temptaverit; irritum erit et vacuum."

In crimine quidem notorio, quod et præter ordinis observationem recte detur Excommunicationis sententia, sicut allegat Archiepiscopus, nec diffitetur Episcopus. Crimen autem notorium in se prorsus diffitetur, scilicet Ecclesiasticæ perturbationis et inobedientiæ. Pacem enim Ecclesiæ, sicut affirmat, nullatenus turbare studuit, sed, quantis consiliis et auxiliis

potuit, fovere et augere laboravit. Nec occasione Schismatis in aliquo malignatus est contra Ecclesiam. Sed ne Schismatis malum etiam Angliam occuparet, sicut sæpius fuit, ob Domini Papæ et Ecclesiæ Romanæ fidelitatem, non superbe, non contentiose, non nimis severe agendum sensit et egit: tolerabiliorē reputaus in quibusdam dissimulationem, et ad tempus patientiam, quam separationis augere perniciem; ipsius etiam Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ, quæ diebus his pleraque dissimulavit et sustinuit, secutus exemplum, et documenta Sanctorum. Ait enim Urbanus Papa: "Ubi multorum strages jacet, subtrahendum est aliquid severitati." Item Augustinus: "Ubi per graves dissensionum scissuras, non hujus aut illius hominis est periculum, sed populorum strages jacent, detrahendum est aliquid severitati: ut, majoribus malis sanandis, caritas sincera subveniat." Item: "Cum quisquam Fratrum, et Christianorum in Ecclesiæ societate constitutorum, in tali peccato deprehensus, ut Anathemate dignus habeatur; fiat hoc ubi Schismatis periculum nullum est." Idem: "Non potest salubris esse correctio, nisi cum ille corripiter, qui non habet sociam multitudinem." Et idem: "Consilia separationis et inania sunt, et perniciosa, atque sacrilega: quare impia et superba sunt, et plus perturbant infirmos bonos, quam animosos malos." Hæc itaque, sicut ait Episcopus, ipse secutus, si quid contra Ecclesiam exactum vel actum novit, non mox consensionis culpam contraxit, vel pœnam meruit, si non vindicavit, cujus hoc officium fuit. Non enim quidquam timide, vel malitiose quidquam omisit, si utiliter et conciliose quædam dissimulans, quædam sustinens, sæpius etiam Dominum Regem intrepide, sed benigne, convenit; multis etiam terrendo, (sed non commovit); ponens, sicut intruxit Augustinus, ante oculos Dei Judicium; terrens cruentam conscientiam, et simplicem suadens pœnitentiam. Multa multotiens vel non fieri, vel corrigi, modestia supplicationis obtinuit, quæ nullatenus impetrasset, si devium contentionis et severitatis incessisset. Cui non debet in vitium deputari, vel ad odium retorqueri, si Domini Regis gratiam sibi quæsit aut servavit; præsertim cum apud eum nulli nocuerit, et multis sæpe profuerit. Quod multo levius, et plenius Archiepiscopo, tanquam specialius dilecto, potuisset evenisse, si modestiæ vel humilitatis viam voluisset elegisse. Non itaque, sicut infert Episcopus, officii sui neglector, vel Canonum contemptor, aut violator fuit: quia, si quid forte tale egit, necessitate, non tamen voluntate. Violatores autem Canonum definit

Damasius Papa "qui contra eos non necessitate compulsi, sed voluntarie faciunt." Et, sicut ipse ait, nec mala fecit nec malis consensit, sed, quatenus licuit et utile credidit, quantum potuit obviavit, implens illud Prophetæ, "Recedite, exite, et immundum ne tetigeritis." "Quid est," ait Augustinus, "tangere immundum, nisi consentire peccatis? Quid est autem inde exire, nisi facere quod pertinet ad correctionem malorum, quantum pro cujusque gradu atque persona fieri potest? Displicuit tibi quod quisque peccavit? non tetigisti immundum. Redarguisti? monuisti? corripuisti? adhibuisti etiam, si res exegerit, congruam, et, quæ non violet, disciplinam? Existi inde. Hoc est immundum non tangere, et voluntate non consentire, et ore non parcere. Neque consentientes sitis malis ut approbetis, neque negligentes ut non arguatis, neque superbientes ut insultanter arguatis." Item: "Quisquis vel, quod potest, arguendo corrigit, vel, quod corrigere non potest, salvo pacis vinculo excludere non potest, equitate improbat, firmitate supportat; omnino liber, prorsus securus, penitus est alienus." Item: "Ita, si quis malis sociatur, mali aliquid cum eis committit, aut committentibus favet; si autem neutrum facit, nullo modo sociatur. Porro, si addat tertium, ut justus in misericordia corripiat, vel, si eam personam gerit, et ratio conservandæ pacis admittit, etiam coram omnibus arguat; removeat, vel ab aliquo gradu honoris, vel ab ipsa communione sacramentorum; plenissime officium implevit. Ubi autem cætera impediuntur, illa duo retenta semper incorruptum custodiunt; scilicet ne faciat malum, nec approbet factum." Ex his itaque se non solum a reatu consensionis malorum excusatum se probat Episcopus, sed etiam manifestum in se modestiæ providentiæque præfert indicium, dum mala melius tulit, quam si etiam foras extulerit, et per hoc imminens Schismatis argumentum impedivit.

Plus etiam dicit, quod exactionibus Domini Regis non mox vel condescendit, vel condescendendum suasit; sed, cum Coepiscopis, non minori periculo, nec impari solitudine substitit, donec, aliquandiu post, communiter, ob sedandam Regis iram et vitandam Ecclesiæ turbationem non minimam, placuit, ut Regias Consuetudines promitterent generaliter omnes, non expressim aliquas, (quia expressa nocent, non expressa non nocent:) Consuetudines etiam nomine tamen bonas intelligentes. Cum autem Dominus Rex, quales voluit, post expressisset, et in scriptum redegisset; id sigillis Archiepiscoporum et

Episcoporum confirmari petens instanter et urgens jugiter, post multam de integro die cum Episcopis protractam hæsitacionem, tandem Archiepiscopus sine cæteris solus succubuit, et acquievit. Ipse viderit, si digne metum aliquem honori Dei et Ordini suo protulerit; si fidem etiam Domino Papæ et Ecclesiæ Romanæ servaverit, ad quam arctius de Spirituali Juramento tenetur. Viderit etiam si, post Scillæam voraginem, non etiam Caribdim inciderit, cum omnem promissionem Regi deinde ruperit. Horum omnium se participem et reum negat Episcopus, incentoremque Schismatis, et perturbatorem pacis Ecclesiæ, tam vere quam probabiliter diffitetur.

Ad inobedientiæ quoque crimen se non minus excusat.

Quicquid enim Mandatorum Archiepiscopi vidit non lædere statum Ecclesiæ, diligenter, ut asserit, executus est, magis ex officio suo, quam ex obedientiæ debito; quippe ut ad quem se ei non teneri constanter affirmat. In cæteris, quorum executio poterat Schismatis malum augere, substitit; tum qui necessarium fuit, tum quia ad exequendum se teneri non credidit; et, licet si ex abundanti, tamen ut undique plenius muniretur, semper ante Mandatorum susceptionem, contra cuncta Ecclesiæ Regnique ac sui gravamina Dominum Papam appellavit, ejus Audientiam eligens. Cumque trans mare postea coram Legatis Apostolicæ Sedis Appellationem proseguire præsto esset, sed non esset qui vel contradiceret vel judicare vellet, incontinenti denuo cum præsentibus Coëpiscopis Appellationem innovavit. Quam Dominus Papa, per literas ipsorum et Legatorum sibi nunciatam postmodum remisit; et eos ab ejus persecutione prorsus absolvit; pacemque ac inducias contra Archiepiscopum, quousque in gratiam Regis rediret, per literas suas indulisit. Cum autem interim rumor insonuisset de novis quibusdam minis et molitionibus Archiepiscopi, ne posset Episcopus, sicut ante aliquomodo quasi præventus, innodari, mox iterum publice provocavit, et omnino recusans ac declinans Archiepiscopum, tanquam ex manifestis causis sibi suspectum, Audientiam Domini Papæ præelegit. Sic igitur, ut infert, etsi tenetur ei obedire, non tamen aliquatenus inobediens potest deprehendi; præsertim cum non frustratorie sed juxta necessitatem semper præveniens appellatio, sibi contra crimen inobedientiæ remedium foret et excusatio: præsertim etiam cum eandem Appellationem proseguere nunquam subterfugerit, nec adhuc subterfugere velit.

Sed nec etiam obedire quicquid omnino se debere sentit et asserit. Siquidem ex Professione quam Theobaldo, bonæ me-

moriæ Archiepiscopo, fecit in Herefordensi Civitate, se tentum non esse dicit, nisi dum Herefordensis Episcopus exstiterit; quod cum esse desiit, et ex ea professione teneri, tanquam tacite, licet non expressim, ad tempus facta, scilicet dum inde maneret Episcopus. Cujus rei fortissimum argumentum esse, quod utique non teneretur, si alterius Provinciæ fieret Episcopus. Sæpius promissionibus conditiones quædam tacite intelliguntur, quamvis non exprimantur: veluti cum dos alicui, propter certam matrimonii spem, absolute promittitur. Non minus enim subest tacita conditio, scilicet ut ita demum promissio teneat, si nuptiæ sequantur. Item, ut in Digesto est, cum inter locatorem et conductorem convenit, ne conductor inter tempora locationis de fundo expellatur; quamvis nihil exprimat de solutione pensionis, tamen verisimile est ita convenisse de expellendo conductore, si pensionibus pareat et, ut oportet colat. Cum autem, ut adjungit Episcopus, ad Londoniensem Sedem translatus professionem Archiepiscopo minime fecerit, nihil equidem ei debere dicit, scilicet nec suo, etiam Londoniensis Ecclesiæ nomine. Semel enim liberatus, nec per eam in potestatem recidit: sicut nec de jure fore filius familiæ, cum extraneæ personæ filius adoptivus sit, secum tamen Patrem adoptivum in potestatem trahit. Magis autem per eum ipsam liberatam dici convenit: præsertim cum de jure non filia, sed mater Cantuariensis Ecclesiæ sit; sicut et a prima constitutione Ecclesiæ in Anglia, diebus quinquaginta duorum Apostolicorum fuisse perhibetur, et in Scriptis authenticis legitur: sicut etiam Beatus Gregorius, in ea Christianitatem renovans, censuit et ordinavit, ut deinceps esset prout ejusdem Scripta testantur; quamvis secus obtinuerit, occasione Paganitatis quæ mox Londonii nequivit extirpari. Propterea sedes Archiepiscopalis præter ordinem esse cæpit, et hactenus manet, Cantuariensis: ubi primo renovata est, et inde paulatim per Angliam propagata, reclamantibus tamen assidue Londoniensibus Episcopis. Sic igitur bona fide, justisque rationibus se liberum proclamans Episcopus, velut semel per auctoritatem Apostolicam manumissus et exemptus, nec unquam deinceps novæ subjectionis servituti suppositus, et inobedientiæ se reum in nullo probat, tanquam nec obedientiæ debitorem.

Si replicat Archiepiscopus quod saltem tanquam Apostolicæ Sedis Legato sibi tenebatur obedire: contra id Episcopus oppositæ Appellationis et recusationis obstaculum objicit: qui se solum Domino Papæ deinceps subjectum fuisse manifeste con-

vincit. Addit etiam quod jure Legationis nondum habet Archiepiscopus jurisdictionem in Anglia. Siquidem Romanæ Sedis Legatus ut Legatus Cæsaris est, scilicet præsens vel corrector Provinciæ vel Proconsul. Sic autem in Digesto est: "Proconsuli Jurisdictio, scilicet contentiosa, prius non competit quam in Provinciam venerit." Item: "Præsens in Provinciæ homines tum imperium habet, et hoc, dum in Provincia est." Nec igitur, ut infert Episcopus, potest aliquatenus Archiepiscopus ut Legatus in Angliam advertere; cum nec in ea sit, nec in eam post tempus Legationis venerit.

Sic itaque concludit Episcopus sententiam excommunicationis in se latam nullatenus tenere: tum quia prius præter Ordinem lata est, cum in se nihil notorium criminis sit: tum quia prius appellavit: tum quia de Archiepiscopi Jurisdictione non sit.

ARCHIEPISCOPUS ad hæc: Quamvis, inquit, prædicta in Episcopo notoria non sint; quia tamen publice de eo dicuntur et creduntur, ob ea juste damnatus est; et præter observationem Ordinis Judicarii: maxime quia in multis Libertas et Dignitas Ecclesiæ, per ejus, sicut ipsemet loquitur, dissimulationem et patientiam periclitata sit. Quem ob hoc etiam extra ordinem puniri justum et utile fuit; ut alii rebelles et turbatores Ecclesiæ magis terreantur, et resipiscant; cum sibi dubitare non debeant inferendum, quod tanti nominis et potestatis viro jam viderint illatum. Sæpius enim contra strictum rationis tenorem, et institutionis solitum ordinem, necessitatum varietas multa fieri suadet et urget. Quia, sicut ait Papa Innocentius: "Aliud est ordo legitimus, aliud usurpatio quod fieri tempus impellit." Sed Silvester Papa similiter in quosdam Adversarios suos animadvertisse legitur, sicut ipsemet scribit. Ait enim: "Usiliarius Patricius mandavit me ad se pacifice venire, et pro quibusdam Ecclesiasticis dissitationibus in Palatium Principis, ad primum et secundum velum retinuit omnem Clerum et Populum, qui mecum veniebat, nisi me solum et Vigilium Diaconum meum—Me vero vi retentum miserunt in exilium, in quo sustentor pane tribulationis et aqua augustiæ. Ego tamen non dimisi, nec dimitto propterea officium; sed cum Episcopis, quos congregare potui, eos qui talia erga me egerunt anathematizavi." Item Vigilio: "Habeto cum his, qui tibi consentiunt, plenæ damnationis sententiam; sublatumque tibi nomen Ministerii Sacerdotalis. Agnosce Sancti Spiritus judicio, et Apostolica a nobis auctoritate, damnatus." Ad

hujus igitur exemplum, de crimine, quamvis non notorio, tamen sibi manifesto et indubitato, rectissime, quamvis extra ordinem, damnaverit Episcopum, congrue sibi videtur Archiepiscopus allegare; quasi de jure facere potuerit et fecerit, præsertim cum et Domini Papæ vice fungatur, cujus etiam, Legatus est.

EPISCOPUS contra. Non exemplis, inquit, sed legibus judicandum est; nec quid factum sit Romæ, sed quid fieri debuit, attendendum est. Licuit quidem semper et licet Domino Papæ contra Jus strictum sæpius agere, maxime cum necessitas postulet. Quamvis enim legibus juvat, legibus tamen solutus est. Et sic Christus in se sacramenta nostra complevit, non aliquid sui necessitate, sed nos ad imitandum provocandi voluntate. Sic etiam Dominus Papa sæpe Canonibus temperat; non quod necesse habeat, sed ut ejus auctoritas et exemplum alios ad obtemperandum urgeat. Sæpius etiam eis non stat. In ejus siquidem potestate est sicut novos condere sic et veteres moderari, vel temperando vel aggregando, non nunquam etiam eorum censuram penitus omittendo, vel contra faciendo. Quum utique potestatem solus accepit, et sibi soli continue retinet, et, cum vices suas sæpius aliis credat, in partem quidem vocat sollicitudinis, non in plenitudinem potestatis. Quibus etiam si quandoque laxius indulget, non tamen eatenus ut liceat eis aliquid vel extra metas antiquitatis; præsertim quas auctoritate Veteris et Novi Testamenti tenentur observare. Nam nec etiam Domino Papæ licet has transgredi, sicut est testis Osimus Papa: "Contra Patrum" inquit "statuta aliquid concedere vel mutare nec hujus Sedis potest Auctoritas." Apud nos in convulsis radicibus vivit Antiquitas, cui dicta Patrum sanxere reverentiam. Et servata quidem semper, a primo hominis peccato, semper Antiquitas est, ut criminis reus damnetur, sed deinde, qui confessus, vel convictus, vel scitatus fuerit. Nam et Adam non prius damnatus, quam citatus et commonitus, cum dictum est ei, 'Adam ubi es,' nec prius quam confessus, cum ait. 'Malum dedit mihi et comedi.' Mala quoque Sodome sic scribit Euaristus Papa: "Noluit Dominus audita prius judicare, quam manifeste cognosceret: cum tamen omnia nuda et aperta sunt oculis ejus. Unde ait: 'Descendam et videbo utrum clamorem opere compleverint.' Cujus exemplo movemur ne ad proferendam sententiam unquam præcipientes simus, aut temere indiligenterque discussa quoquo modo judicemus: dicente Veritatis voce: 'Nolite Judicare, et non judicabimini.'"

Sed nec aperte traditur, quod adversus hæc aliquid egerit Papa Silvester in Usiliarium et Vigilium.

Contra ordinem igitur quem etiam tam diligenter Deus ipse servavit, et ex se servandum docuit, quem etiam tam immobiliter servandum auctoritas Sanctorum tradit, numquid quod Archiepiscopus egit etiam Legatus obtinere debet? et non magis irritum esse? præsertim cum et simul Accusator, et Judex non potuerit. De suspecto siquidem ait Nicholas Papa: "Quia suspecti et inimici Judices esse non debeant, et ipsa ratio dictat, et multis probatur exemplis. Quum quid gratius dare quis inimico potest, quam si ei ad impetendum, quem lædere forte voluerit." Et infra: "Hinc Justinianus Imperator pius Legibus suis promulgasse dignoscitur dicens: Liceat ei, qui suspectum Judicem putat, antequam lis inchoetur, eum recusare, ut ad alium recurratur. Ita quodam modo naturale est suspectorum Judicum insidias declinare, et inimicorum Judicium velle refugere." Idem: "Anastatius etiam Pirenorum Episcopus tertio vocatus, quia non occurrit, a Patriarcha suo condemnatus exstiterat. Sed solum quia, cum vocaretur ad Synodum, quod inimicus esset ipse qui judicabat, clamavit, a Sancta Calcedonensi Synodo ad sententias illatas reservatur; Sed quasi pro nihilo habita condemnatione priori." Quod item non debeat idem Accusator esse, simul et Judex, testis est Augustinus dicens: "Quis sibi utrumque audet assumere, ut cuiquam ipse sit Accusator et Judex?" Item Fabianus Papa: "Nullus unquam præsumat Accusator simul esse, et Judex, vel Testis. Quum in omni Judicio quatuor personas semper necesse est esse: scilicet Judices non idem sint; sed per se Accusatores; per se Judices; per se Accusati." Sicut igitur infert Episcopus, ejus qui contra præcedentia omnia, tam manifeste, tam indiscrete, tam præcipitanter egit, quid nisi verborum inanis prolatio et impudens jactatio putanda est: ut nec nomen sententiæ mereatur?

ARCHIEPISCOPUS addit etiam: ita quod cum extra Divinam expectationem, multis sæpe supplicationibus, comminationibus, Dominum Regem flectere studuisset, nec prævaleret, et demum in hoc esset ut securim poneret ad radicem, cum ulterius parcere nec posset nec deberet, Episcopum in Regis causa tam indubitanter et notorie injusta se primum adversarium, et eatenus vehementem defensorem opposuit, ut ipse etiam contra justiciæ prosecutionem appellaverit. Sic consensum notorium in crimine

notorio palam et inexcusabiliter ostendens : et ex hoc, quin Excommunicatione, quamvis præter ordinem facta, juste firmiterque teneatur, negare nullatenus valens.

EPISCOPUS contra : Non solum, sed Ecclesiam Angliæ totam, illius Appellationis interpositionem consuluisse, secumque fecisse, respondit ; non malis consentiendo, non mala defendendi proposito, sed ob Ecclesiæ Romanæ fidelitatem, suique pacem : scilicet præpediendo nimiam nimisque periculosam Archiepiscopi severitatem, ne Schismatis augeretur discrimen : quod etiam cum enormi Ecclesiæ damno secuturum fuisse dubitari non poterat, si conatus Archiepiscopi processissent : Quando etiam constat humilitatem patientiæ melius vicisse potuisse, et jam acerbitalis multiplicationem satis periculosius Regem exacerbasse. Si replicat Archiepiscopus quod non eo minus, sed etiam magis notorius est mali consensus, quod in socia deprehenditur multitudo : contra Episcopus magis propeditionem Schismatis probabiliter confitetur ; et mali consensus prorsus diffitetur. Sed et id post secundam et etiam tertiam correptionem fieri debet. Sic et Dominus Evangelio præcipit dicens : “ Si peccaverit in te frater tuus, corripe eum inter te et ipsum : si non audierit te, adhibe tecum unum aut duos : si eos non audierit, dic Ecclesiæ : Quod, si nec Ecclesiam audierit, sit tibi velut Ethnicus et Publicanus.” Nihil igitur, sicut concludit Episcopus, virium habere sententia non indigne censetur, quæ nihil etiam Ordinis prorsus observare reperitur.

ARCHIEPISCOPUS ad hæc determinat : Tunc quidem ordinem omittendum non esse, cum servari potest : cum autem non potest servari, pro servato tamen per interpretationem habendus est. Nam et alias etiam apud Deum factum est : quia fieri non potuit, pro facto tamen nihilominus accipitur ; ut in eo qui Baptismi seu Penitentiae Sacramentum desiderat, nec implere potest.

“ Huic enim,” sicut ait Cassiodorus, “ Votum pro opere reputatur, scilicet propter impossibilitatem. Sed et apud homines regula juris est, in omnibus causis id pro facto accipi, in quo quis alium perhorrescit quo minus fiat : Ut in Codice de eo qui propter vim vel metum non appellat : Nihilominus enim res jure Appellationis agitabitur. Similiter itaque, sicut infert Archiepiscopus, jure processisse dicit, causam contra Episcopum, quamvis non in Synodo sua, quamvis

sine commonitione vel citatione præmissam. Synodum etenim alienam habuit qui suam habere non potuit. Sed et pro citato et præmonito probat habendum, qui se magis etiam obtulisse debuit, ut cujus fama plurimum laborabat : quem etiam multis ex causis satagere vel commonere nequivit : primo quidem, quia magnum Chaos terrarum inter se et ipsum sit ; deinde, quia jamdudum apud exterarum Gentes peregrinus et exul, eorumque eleemosynis sustentatus, neminem ad faciendas citationes vel commonitiones Officiale habere possit, nisi forte qui se gratis et pro Deo tantum obtulerit : tertio : quia, cum aliqui quandoque missi per Regis ministros capti, verberati, male tractati, incarcerati, periculoque membrorum aut mortis subditi sunt ; cæteri, justo metu præpediti, Legationem tam formidabilem subire deinceps ausi non sunt. Sic igitur, ut concludit, Legaliter et Canonice, tanquam contra citatum et præmonitum Episcopum, sententia processit, et firmiter obtinet.

EPISCOPUS contra : Non semper quod fieri debet pro facto habendum, respondit ; cum fieri propter vim vel metum non potest. Namque et alias, ut in Digesto scribitur, in jure proditum est, deprehensione fieri manifestum furem. Cæterum si, cum tibi furtum facerem, abscondisti te ne te occidam, etiam si vidisti furtum fieri, at tamen non est manifestum. Cum etiam, propter metum, testamentum non facis ; litem non contestaris ; rem non evincis ; reum non accusas ; non tamen vel testamentum factum, vel lis contestata, vel res evicta, vel quis accusatus. Habet etiam similibus multis similiter. Denique quod debet propter metum aut vim omissum pro facto accipi, non de his accipitur quæ lex fieri jubet, sed de his quæ ad remedium indulget ; ut sunt Appellationes, Præscriptionum interpretationes ; nam hæc, si propter vim vel metum omittantur, pro factis tamen accipiuntur : maxime si quis eas facere non ausum, publice protestetur. Præterea quod Archiepiscopus ordinem etiam commonitionum et citationum observasse potuit, hinc plane convincitur ; quia multo fortius Excommunicationis faciendæ præparatoria præmissæ timere non debuit : quia jam factas denunciationes, passim et publice per Angliam post mittere non dubitavit, scilicet literas suas de evitandis Excommunicatis per nuntios suos ardentem præsentans, in Episcoporum Synodis, in publicis Ecclesiarum conventibus, in Procerum etiam consessibus. Cum itaque, sicut Episcopus infert, ordo nullatenus vel servatus vel pro servato sit ; patet quod

Excommunicatio, facta præter ordinem, Excommunicationis nomine digna non sit.

ARCHIEPISCOPUS instat et aliter adhuc. Contra crimen, inquit, notorium appellari non potest. Nam in Codice est: "eis qui aperte manifesteque convicti sint, Appellationis beneficium denegatur." Item: "Observandum est ne quis eorum, qui manifestam violentiam commiserint, audiatur appellans." Item in Digesto: "Constitutiones quæ de recipiendis appellationibus loquuntur, locum non habent in eorum personis, quos damnari publice interest." At, ut assumit, quin in Rege contra Deum et ejus Ecclesiam periculosissima sit, et manifesta transgressio, manifesta etiam circa sui et suorum spoliationem innocentumque proscriptionem violentia, nec ipse diffitere potest; quæ certe palam operum evidentia testatur, super quibus etiam tam consona totius mundi detestatione convincitur. Unde, sicut infert, tanquam aperte manifesteque convictus, nec in eis appellans audiri debet: maxime cum ob ea puniri publice intersit; ut et ipse recipiscere compulsus salvetur, et Ecclesiæ status reformetur. Itaque, sicut addit, in ejus causa prorsus excluditur appellatio, si nec Episcopus nec aliquis pro eo vel appellare potest, nec appellans audiri debet; præsertim cum in Digesto est: "Non liceat in aliena causa cuiquam appellare." "Nisi forte," sicut ibidem excipitur, "quibus mandatum est, vel negotium alienum gerunt; quod mox reus reatum habeat." At, ut assumit, hic nec mandari nec reatum haberi potest: quod nec fieri debet. Solent item, sicut et indignum est, audiri appellantes quorum interest, "Sed hos," sicut et ibidem est, "verum est propriam causam defendere. Propriam autem causam eam esse palam est, cujus emolumentum vel damnum ad aliquem suo nomine pertinet, ut cum procurator victo venditore, vel e converso; vel creditor, victo debitore, vel e converso. Causa vero Regis, ut assumit, nec Episcopi vel alterius quidquam interesse facit, ut intercessionem interponant; immo potius patrociniū ad corrigendum communiter Ecclesia tota Fidelium adhibere debet. Quia publice interest potius tantum inimicum coerceri, quam, vel sub alicujus necessitatis palliatione, foveri. Non itaque, sicut concludit, in tam detestandi negotii parte aliquem, vel ab ipso Rege, vel ab Episcopo, vel ab alio quovis appellatio fieri potest vel facta recipi debet.

EPISCOPUS contra respondit, et Regem et se, vel quemvis, nomine Regis provocare potuisse : maxime quia Dominus Rex nunquam se justiciæ subtraxerit, immo semper obtulerit ; sed et instanter et satis anxie postulare non deserit sibi Judices contra Archiepiscopum delegari ; coram quibus etiam prius satisfacere pollicebatur, dummodo securus esset, sibi post modum satisfacturum iri : cum inter hæc, contra Leges et Canones, Archiepiscopus in eum et Accusator et Judex esse niteretur, contra tam manifestum gravamen, et Rex et ejus nomine quivis justissime potuit appellare. Præterea licet etiam Rex appellare pro se dedignaretur, non eo minus tamen id alii fuerat indulgendum. Sicut et indulgetur in causa damnandorum. Nam ut in Digesto est : “ Non tantum ei qui ad supplicium ducitur provocare permittitur, verum alii quoque nomine ejus ; non tantum si ille mandaverit, verum quisquis alius provocare voluerit.” Nec distinguitur utrum necessarius sit necne ; creat enim humanitatis ratio omnem provocantem audire debere : ergo, etsi ipse acquiescat sententiæ, nec quæritur cujus intersit. Quid ergo si restat, qui damnatus est, ferire festinans, adhuc putans differendum supplicium. Si hoc itaque, sicut argumentatur Episcopus, admittitur in causa periculi corporis contra pœnam temporalem : quanto fortius admitti debet, ubi periclitatur etiam ad mortem æternam animæ, scilicet in Anathematis causa. Quanto siquidem corpore dignior est anima, tanto potentius ei subveniri debet. Item quod Episcopus et alii congrue provocare potuerint et juste provocaverint, hinc, ut idem ait, palam est ; quia sui plurimum, immo totius Ecclesiæ, simul interfuit, scilicet ne schisma dilataretur : quin etiam contra gravamina propriæ causæ juste provocaverit ipse, non potest, inquit, negari.

ARCHIEPISCOPUS addit : et item sibi Legationem esse concessam, et in animadversionis in rebelles et turbatores Ecclesiæ potestatem indultam, remoto appellationis obstaculo ; proptereaque nec appellationem sequentem, vel præcedentem impedisse jam factam Anathematis ultionem, vel eam ullatenus infirmare.

EPISCOPUS contra : quamvis, inquit, sine provocationis obstaculo, non tamen contra Leges et Canones ipsi mandata est executio. Nam quamvis etiam liberam et generalem Jurisdictionem ex Mandato suscepit ; non tamen ex hoc consuetum et Legitimum Jurisdictionis Ordinem transgrediendi facultatem habuit. Sicut argumento est illud in Codice. “ Siquando talis

concessio Imperialis processerit, postquam libera Testamenti factio concedatur, nihil aliud videri principem concedere, nisi uti habeat legitimam et consuetam Testamenti factionem : neque enim credendum est Romanum Principem, qui Jura tuetur, hujusmodi verbo totam observationem restitutorum multis vigiliis excogitatam atque inventam velle subverti. Similiter itaque, sicut infert Episcopus, quamvis Dominus Papa Legationem etiam generalem et liberam Archiepiscopus dederit, si forte dedit ; non tamen contra Legitimum et consuetum juris ordinem ei facere quidquam permisit. Qui si contra fecit, sicut utique fecisse supra probatum est, tamen etiam ipso Jure cassum et irritum non eo minus est, quia Legatus est, vel quia Provocatio prohibita est. Item, sicut addit Episcopus, quamvis contra animadversionem Archiepiscopi per Dominum Papam prohibita sit appellatio ; non eo minus tamen sibi provocare licitum fuit. Nam et alias, ut in Digesto est : “ Cum a Principe Appellandi nec facultas, nec fas sit, interdum et ipsius sententiam suspendit appellatio. Cum enim Præses Provinciæ deportandi quem in Insulam, vel Decurionem puniendi jus non habeat ; debet tamen eum annotare scilicet bonis ejus descriptis, quem deportandum vel puniendum putat : sic deinceps Principi scribere, missa plena opinione scilicet quare deportandum vel puniendum sentiat ; ut ita Princeps æstimet an sequenda sit ejus Sententia. Demumque in Insulam deportando, vel Decurioni, pænam assignet.” Potuerunt itaque, sicut ibidem datur, appellare, non solum quando Præses Principi scribit, sed etiam quando Princeps de insula, seu de pæna, rescribit. Quid enim si Præses Mandatis apud Principem oneraverit eum, quem deportandum vel puniendum laborat. Recte itaque datur humanitate suggerente ut, et hoc, et illo tempore, non frustra provocent : quia non adversus Principem, sed adversus Judicis calliditatem, provocant. Quorum etiam status interesse jubetur, provocatione interposita. Ergo etsi abstinere ab ordine Decurio jussus sit, scilicet post Principem et provocaverit ; poterit interim participare ; cum sit hoc constitutum, ut sit Juris, ne quid pendente appellatione innovetur. Itaque, sicut infert Episcopus, sicut a Principe non sit appellandum, nonne similiter et Episcopo, quem Archiepiscopus per se punire de Canonum censura prohibetur, licere deberet, etiam si Dominus Papa eum ad Archiepiscopi suggestionem degradasset, appellatione tamen obviare, statumque sibi integrum retinere. Multo fortius igitur, etsi non Dominus Papa, sed per Dominum Papam Archiepiscopus in

ipsum, etiam sublato Provocationis obstaculo, similiter advertisset, sequens tamen idem appellationis remedium ipsi subveniret; quanto magis et præveniens, ne quid fieri posset, impediret. Et hoc igitur in Excommunicationis etiam sententia non minus obtinere debere concludit Episcopus, non solum si generaliter in quos animadvertendi, sed etiam si specialiter excommunicandi se potestas Archiepiscopo, non obstante appellatione, concessa fuerit. Item, ut addit, quamvis appellatio, velut inhibita, sententiam infirmare non posset, infirmat tamen eam præmissa totiens contra Archiepiscopum tanquam Domini Papæ postulata cognitio. Nam et utrumque decernit Sixtus Papa: “Dum,” inquit “Episcopi Romanam Ecclesiam appellaverint, aut eb ea se audiri poposcerint, nullus eos interim excommunicare præsumat. Quod si aliter a quoquam fuerit præsumptum, nil erit, sed viribus carebit.” Juxta quod, etiam Anastatii Pirænorum Episcopi depositionem non tenuisse supra memoratum est.

ARCHIEPISCOPUS post hæc ad specialia quædam transit. Dicit enim se dudum corripuisse Episcopum, quod filios Sacerdotum contra Canones ad sacros ordines promoverit; et inter cæteros unum ad sacerdotii gradum, in Ecclesia quadam in qua ipsum Patri successisse cognovit: quod incontinentiam etiam Clericorum in Episcopatu suo, non solum non correxerit, sed etiam pretii interventu sustinuerit. Et ob hoc mox etiam Mandatum se dedisse commemorat, nisi de tantis excessibus Judicio Coepiscoporum satisfaceret. Quod, cum in quid facere neglexerit, jure in eum tanquam in præmonitum et aperte contumacem Anathematis ultio facta est, nec, appellationis occasione, rata non esse debet. Nam ut dictum est: “Post contumaciam condemnatus, si appellat, non auditur.”

EPISCOPUS contra, se de contumacia nititur excusare: quia nec, ut Archiepiscopo, tanquam non subjectus, nec ut Legato, tanquam suspecto et recusato, tenetur obedire; sed soli Domino Papæ: maxime postquam ad eum appellaverit, et ipsius Audientiam elegit. Contumaces autem, ut in Digesto est, non judicantur, nisi qui obedire deberent et non obsequuntur, id est qui ad Jurisdictionem ejus, cui negant obsequi, pertinent.

Sed et plane negat Episcopus Clericorum incontinentiam muneris interventu permisisse, vel eorum correctionem neglexisse. Quin immo, sicut notum esse respondit, sæpius omnes

communiter in Synodis, et seorsum in Capitulis diligenter commouit: omnibus etiam, ut decuit, sæpius publice comminatus est, et nonnullos demum digne corripuit, et emendavit. Si vero prorsus vitium extirpatum non est, ait non imputandum sibi, sed magis delinquentium multitudini, vixque, vel nunquam, abolendæ consuetudini. Quod enim a multis peccatur, multum est præsertim id malum, cui tam invincibiliter ex prima damnatione peccati subiaceat genus humanum. Quod item reprehenditur filios Sacerdotum ordinasse, nec huc usque confiteatur concessum. Omnes quidem administrare nequaquam ignorabat prohibitum esse, sed nec omnes poterat rejicere; proptereaque quod decuit et potuit fecit. Scilicet Archidiaconos suos, quibus plenior est notitia Clericorum, et quorum officium est eos præsentare, diligenter adjuravit, et eis destrictè præcepit, ne quem contra Canonum censuram admitterent, vel præsentarent. Si quid igitur contra minus Canonice fieri contingit, in Archidiaconos inquit magis redundare convenit. De filio quoque Sacerdotis quem in Ecclesia reperit a prædecessore suo prius institutum, et Diaconum ordinatum, posteaque per se cuidam Archiepiscopi Clerico ad annum Canonem gravem satis, de Ecclesia solvendum, ex accusatione quadam dicit obligatum, et quia de residuo secum capellanum sustentare non poterat; ipsum quidem se promovisse fatetur in Præbendam: præsertim quia non alias eum indignum, sed boni testimonii satis agnovit. Si minus itaque vel in hoc vel in alio diligens fuit, etiam si Archiepiscopo tenebatur obedire, non tamen contumax et ejus Mandati contemptor, ut ait, convincitur, quod, Judicio Coepiscoporum, prout mandavit non satisfecit; quod nec illud subterfugit, nec coram illis, sine accusatore præsentè, quem diffitetur excessum corrigere cogeatur. Si quid vero deliquit, Domini Papa censuram in nullo refugit: quod, sicut auctor est Canonum, ita et ultor transgressionis eorum.

ARCHIEPISCOPUS demum ait: Quod etiam sententia, quamvis non Legitima vel illicita, tamen liget, teste Parisiensi Concilio in quo legitur sic: “De illicita Excommunicatione Lex Justiniani imprimis, quam probat et servat, decrevit ut nemo Presbyter excommunicet aliquem, antequam causa probetur, propter quam Canones hoc fieri jubent. Si quis autem adversus eam aliquem excommunicaverit, ille quidem, qui excommunicatus est, majoris auctoritate Sacerdotis, ad gratiam Sanctæ Communionis redeat. Is autem, qui non legitime excommunicaverit,

in tantum abstineat a Sancta Communione tempus, quantum majori Sacerdoti visum fuerit." En, inquit, Excommunicatio quamvis illicita, vel non legitima, tamen tenet; adeo quidem ut per majorem Sacerdotem ad Communionem redire, id est absolvi, debeat, qui sic excommunicatus fuerit. Et hoc igitur etiam in Episcopo tenendum consequenter concludit. Item, ut addit: si prius non tenet sententia, jam tenet cum contemnetur. Nam ut ait Gregorius: "Sententia Pastoris, sive ~~justa~~, sive injusta sit, timenda est vel tenenda, ne hic qui subest, et injuste forsitan ligatur, ipsam suæ obligationis sententiam ex alia culpa mereatur. Is igitur, qui sub manu pastoris sui judicatur, timeat reprehendere, ne, etsi injuste ligatus est, ex ipsa tumida reprehensionis superbia, culpa quæ non erat, fiat. Si igitur, saltem ex sequenti scilicet contemptu, culpa vere ligatum probat Episcopum; eatenus etiam, ut quamvis injusta sit sententia, tamen omnimodo vitandus sit. Sicut est in Concilio Sardiensi in quo legitur sic: "Si Episcopus forte iracundus, quod non esse debet, cito et aspere commovetur adversus Præbendarium sive Diaconum, et, eum de Ecclesia exterminare voluerit; providendum est ne innocens damnetur, aut perdat communionem. Et idcirco habet potestatem is, qui abjectus est, ut Episcopos finitimos interpellat, et causa ejus audiatur et diligenter tractetur. Ille vero Episcopus, qui juste vel injuste eum abjecit, patienter accipiat ut negotium discutiatur, et vel probetur ejus Sententia pluribus, vel emendetur. Tamen, priusquam omnia diligenter et fideliter examinetur, eum, qui fuit communionem privatus, ante cognitionem nullus debet præsumere ut consociet. Qui etiam, si communicare præsumperit, et officium suum agere, gravius ex Decretis puniendus arguitur. Nam in Concilio Antiocheno est: "Si quis Episcopus damnatus a Synodo, vel si Presbyter aut Diaconus a suo Episcopo, et ausi fuerint aliquid de Ministerio Sacro contingere, nullo modo liceat eis nec in alio Synodo spem restitutionis, aut locum satisfactionis habere." Item in Concilio Martini Papæ: "Si quis Episcopus in Concilio excommunicatus fuerit, sive Presbyter aut Diaconus ab Episcopo suo, et post Excommunicationem præsumperit sive Episcopus ille sive Presbyter aut Diaconus facere oblationem, vel matutinum vel vespertinum Sacrificium in officio suo agere, sicut prius; non liceat ei, nec in alio concilio spem reconciliationis habere, nec ultra reconciliari. Item in Concilio Africano: "Placuit universo Concilio ut, qui excommunicatus fuerit, pro suo neglectu, sive Episcopus sive quilibet

Clericus, et tempore suæ Excommunicationis, ante Audientiam communicare præsumpserit, ipse in se damnationis judicetur protulisse Sententiam. Ex his igitur omnibus, sicut concludit Archiepiscopus, non solum vere Excommunicatus convincitur Episcopus, sed etiam contemptu suo prorsus deponendus.

EPISCOPUS contra : Sententiam illicitam vel non legitimam dici determinat injustam, scilicet ex causa, ut cum subest culpa propter quam infertur, vel ex animo, vel cum minore culpa quam deceat forte, per iracundiam vel ignorantiam infertur : juxta illud Agathensis concilii : “ Episcopi, si, Sacerdotali moderatione postposita, innocentes aut minimis causis culpabiles excommunicare præsumpserint, a vicinis Episcopis commoveantur.” Tales etenim, ut Episcopus prosequitur, sententiæ cum ordinatim dantur, nec per Appellationem impediuntur, quamvis injustæ sint, tamen utique ligant, scilicet apud Ecclesiam, quamvis non semper apud Deum. Nam et e converso sæpius tenent apud Deum, cum tamen non fiunt apud Ecclesiam. Ut enim ait Origines : “ Exit a civitate, a fide, a caritate ; per hæc exit de castris Ecclesiæ, etiam si voce Episcopi non abjiciatur. Si aliquis e contra non recto judicio foras mittitur, sed si non egit, si non meretur, nihil læditur. Interdum enim qui foris mittitur intus est, et qui foris est intus retineri videtur.” Timendam tamen et tenendam vel injustam sententiam, secundum Gregorium, fatetur Episcopus, nec contemnendam, ne forte, si contemnatur, ex ipsa, sicut addit Gregorius, tumida superbia reprehensionis, culpa quæ non erat fiat ; scilicet ut deinceps etiam apud Deum ex contemptu teneatur, qui prius apud Ecclesiam de Pastoris tantum Judicio tenebatur. Hoc igitur est, sicut distinguit Episcopus, ubi sententia, sicut de facto, sic de jure quidem aliqua est, licet injusta. Ubi vero, quamvis de facto, nulla tamen de jure, velut quæ datur contra juris ordinem contra Appellationem, contra rationem subditam, ubi quidem vere etiam injusta, sicut recte sentit Episcopus, vel est, vel dici potest ; nec etiam, si non servatur, vel contemptu convalescit. Quæ ab initio non valent sententiæ tractu temporis convalescere non possunt. Idemque qui contra eam communicaverit, vel non minus officium suum fecerit, prorsus in nullo reus est, nec pænis præmissorum Canonum ullatenus subjacet. Sic igitur integrum sibi statum jure defendit, nec excommunicatum, nec absolvendum se vere probat Episcopus, immo nec prorsus ex aliquo vel prius, vel post facto, reum.

APPENDIX III.

CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER OF THE LETTERS, IN THE COLLECTION, EPISTOLÆ DIVI THOMÆ.

- | | B. | L. | |
|-------------|----|-----|--|
| A. D. 1163. | I. | 10. | The Pope, to the Archbishop of York. |
| | | 18. | The Archbishop of Canterbury, to Theobald, Bishop of Ostia. After Oct. 1. (Council of London.) |
| | | 20. | The Archbishop of Canterbury, to Bernard, Bishop of Portus |
| | | 21. | The Archbishop of Canterbury, to Cardinal Albert. |
| | | 22. | The Archbishop of Canterbury, to Cardinal Hyacinth. |
| | | 1. | The Bishop of Poitiers, to the Archbishop of Canterbury. |
| | | 25. | The same, to the same. |
| | | 23. | M. Henry, to the Archbishop of Canterbury. |
| | | 24. | John of Salisbury, to the Archbishop of Canterbury. |
| | | 78. | The Pope, to the Archbishop of York. |
| | | 75. | The Archbishop of Canterbury, to his Envoy Gunter. End of the year. |
| | | 76. | The Archbishop of Canterbury, to Conrad, Archbishop of Mayence. |
| | | 77. | The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Pope. |
| | | 11. | The Pope, to the Archbishop of York. |
| A. D. 1164. | | 12. | List of persons present at the Council of Clarendon. |
| | | 79. | The Pope, to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Sens, Jan. 20. |
| | | 4. | The Pope, to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Sens, Feb. 27. |
| | | 5. | The Pope, to the Archbishop of Canterbury. |

B. I.

- A. D. 1164. I. 91. The Pope, to the Archbishop of Canterbury.
 26. The Pope, to the Archbishop of Canterbury.
 Sens, April 1.
 8. — to the Archbishop of Canterbury.
 9. M. Hervey, to the Archbishop of Canterbury.
 2. The Bishop of Poitiers, to the Archbishop of Canterbury. After June 17.
 3. An Envoy, to the Archbishop of Canterbury.
 6. An Envoy, to the Archbishop of Canterbury.
 7. An Envoy, to the Archbishop of Canterbury.
 17. The Pope, to the Archbishop of Canterbury.
 Sens, Oct. 25.
 13. Henry II. to the Bishops. Dec. 24.
 14. Henry II. to the Archbishop of Canterbury.
 Dec. 24.
 15. Henry II. to the Sheriffs. Dec. 24.
 29. The Bishops, to the Pope.
 30. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Pope.
 A. D. 1165. 31. John of Salisbury, to the Archbishop of Canterbury. After Jan. 25.
 47. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Dean of Rheims.
 48. — to Henry II.
 49. The Pope, to the Archbishop of Canterbury.
 55. The Pope, to the Earl of Flanders.
 56. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Chancellor of Sicily.
 57. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to Matilda, Queen of Sicily.
 58. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Bishop Elect of Syracuse.
 II. 87. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to Fulko, Dean of Rheims.
 I. 59. The Pope, to the King of Scotland.
 60. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Dean of Orleans.
 61. The Pope, to Henry, Earl of Champagne.
 III. 96. The Pope, to Philip, Earl of Flanders.
 I. 62. The Pope, to the Abbot of Chremareis.
 50. M. Hervey, to the Archbishop of Canterbury.
 34. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to Robert, Earl of Leicester.
 88. [157]¹ John of Salisbury, to M. Humfrey.

¹ [The number within brackets, where it occurs, is the place of the letter in the collection of John of Salisbury.]

- B. L.
- A. D. 1165. I. 69. Henry II. to the Archbishop of Cologne.
 70. The Emperor, to his Subjects. Wittenburgh,
 July 1.
 71. The Emperor, to the Abbot. Wittenburgh, July 1.
 72¹. An Envoy, to the Pope. Wittenburgh, July 1.
 171. John of Salisbury, to M. Gerard. After July 6.
 35. The Bishop of Poitiers, to the Archbishop of
 Canterbury.
 36. — to the Archbishop of Canterbury.
 80. The Pope, to Clarembald, Abbot Elect of St.
 Augustine's.
 37. The Pope, to the Bishop of London. Clermont,
 July 10.
 38. The Bishop of London, to the Pope.
 41. The Pope, to the Bishop of London.
 33. John of Salisbury, to the Archbishop of Canter-
 bury.
 67. The Pope, to the Bishop of London. Gradu
 Mercurii, August 21.
 42. The Pope, to Henry II.
 74. The Pope, to the Bishop of London.
 43. The Pope, to the Archbishop of Canterbury.
 115. The Pope, to the Archbishop of Canterbury.
 October.
 A. D. 1166. 160. The Pope, to the Bishops. Lateran, Jan. 27.
 51. Cardinal Otho, to the Archbishop of Canterbury.
 52. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Empress
 Matilda.
 53. Nicholas of Rouen, to the Archbishop of Canter-
 bury.
 85. Arnulph, Bishop of Lisieux, to the Archbishop of
 Canterbury.
 63. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to Henry II.
 65. The same, to the same.
 64. The same, to the same.
 68. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Bishop of
 London.
 116. The Pope, to the Bishops. Lateran, April 23.
 32. The Pope, to the Bishops. Lateran, May 3.
 90. The Pope, to the Archbishop of Rouen.
 97. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Bishops.
 137. [136] The Archbishop of Canterbury, to
 Nicholas of Rouen. Before June 12.

¹ Dupin places the events, referred to in 1, 70, 71, 72, in 1168.

- B. L.
- A. D. 1166. i. 138. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Pope. .
After June 12.
139. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to Conrad, Arch-
bishop of Mayence.
96. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Bishops.
100. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Bishop of
Salisbury.
101. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Chapter of
Salisbury.
102. The Archbishop of Rouen, to Henry of Pisa.
140. [159] John of Salisbury, to the Bishop of Exeter.
104. The Bishop of Salisbury, to the Archbishop of
Canterbury.
105. The Chapter of Salisbury, to the Archbishop of
Canterbury.
142. The Pope, to the Archbishop of Canterbury.
143. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Arch-
bishop of Rouen.
144. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Bishop of
Hereford.
145. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Bishop of
Chichester.
146. Nicholas of Rouen, to the Archbishop of Canter-
bury. Between June 24 and July 6.
147. [160] John of Salisbury, to the Archbishop of
Canterbury.
148. The Pope, to the Archbishop of Canterbury.
149. The Pope, to the Archbishop of Canterbury.
150. [166] John of Salisbury, to the Archbishop of
Canterbury.
40. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Bishops of
Hereford and Worcester.
163. [167] John of Salisbury, to the Archbishop of
Canterbury.
167. [169] John of Salisbury, to the Bishop of
Exeter.
126. The Bishops, to the Archbishop of Canterbury.
128. The Bishops, to the Pope.
127. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Bishops.
108. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Bishop of
London.
123. The Bishop of London, to the King.
109. [171] John of Salisbury, to Radulphus Niger.
110. [173] John of Salisbury, to Radulphus Niger.
111. M. Gerard, to the Archbishop of Canterbury.
112. The Pope, to the Bishop of Meaux.

B. L.

- A. D. 1166. I. 113. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Bishop of Winchester.
114. The Pope, to the Archbishop of Canterbury.
161. [176] John of Salisbury, to the Archbishop of Canterbury.
162. The Abbot of St. Victor's, to the Bishop of Hereford.
39. The Pope, to the Bishop of Hereford.
117. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Bishops of Hereford and Worcester
122. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Bishop of London.
118. The Pope, to the Archbishop of Canterbury.
119. The Pope, to the Archbishop of Canterbury.
120. The Pope, to the Bishops.
121. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Bishop of London.
130. John of Salisbury, to the Bishop of Exeter.
98. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Archdeacon of Canterbury.
99. The same, to the same.
- II. 86. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to Robert, Provost of Arcis.
- I. 44. — to the Archbishop of Canterbury.
45. Nicholas of Rouen, to the Archbishop of Canterbury.
- II. 41. Henry II. to the Cardinals.
79. Owen, King of Wales, to the Archbishop of Canterbury.
80. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to Owen, King of Wales.
81. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Archdeacon of Bangor.
82. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to Arthur de Borgis and others.
83. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Archdeacon and Canons of Bangor.
- I. 81. The Pope, to the Abbot of Pontigni.
82. The Pope, to the Abbot of Citeaux.
- II. 84. Henry II. to the Cistercian Abbot.
- I. 92. The Pope, to the Cistercian Order.
28. The Bishop of Lisieux, to the Archbishop of Canterbury.
83. The Pope, to the Prior of St. Trinity, Canterbury.
84. The King of France, to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

- B. L.
- A. D. 1166. I. 168. [173] John of Salisbury, to M. Gerard. October 1.
129. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Pope.
- II. 73. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to Henry of Pisa.
- I. 135. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to Cardinal Hyacinth.
136. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to Cardinal Boso.
- II. 74. The Bishop Elect of Chartres, to the Pope.
75. The Pope, to Henry II.
- I. 133. [179] John of Salisbury, to the Abbot of St. Edmund's.
- II. 37. [180] John of Salisbury, to M. Nicholas.
- I. 73. [182] John of Salisbury, to the Bishop of Poitiers.
95. [268] John of Salisbury, to M. Ralph, of Lisieux.
169. [183] John of Salisbury, to Raimond, Chancellor of Poitiers.
134. A Cardinal, to the Archbishop of Canterbury.
- II. 77. [193] John of Salisbury, to the Prior of Moreton.
78. [140] John of Salisbury, to the Prior of Moreton.
1. The Pope, to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Lateran, Dec. 1.
2. The Pope, to Henry II. Dec. 1.
3. The Pope, to the Bishops. Dec. 1.
43. The Pope, to Louis VII.
42. The Empress Matilda, to the Archbishop of Canterbury.
44. The Archbishop of Rouen, to the Archbishop of Canterbury.
17. [192] John of Salisbury, to the Bishop of Poitiers.
63. [186] John of Salisbury, to the Bishop of Exeter.
- I. 170. [185] John of Salisbury, to M. Gerard.
93. [187] John of Salisbury, to Walter de Lisle.
152. [188] John of Salisbury, to Nicholas of Rouen.
94. [189] John of Salisbury, to Walter de Lisle.
- II. 91. [200] John of Salisbury, to Humphrey Bohun.
92. [201] John of Salisbury, to the Bishop of Baieux.
93. [202] John of Salisbury, to the Archdeacon of Contares.
96. [204] John of Salisbury, to the Bishop of Worcester.
- I. 153. [190] John of Salisbury, to R. de Beaumont.
155. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to Nicholas of Rouen.
106. The Bishop of London, to Henry II.
- A. D. 1167. 131. The Bishop of London, to Henry II. Jan. 25.

B. L.

- A. D. 1167. I. 164. The Bishop of Poitiers, to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Feb. 2.
 165. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to his Envoy at Rome.
- II. 45. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Pope.
 46. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Cardinals.
 21. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to Conrad, Archbishop of Mayence.
 71. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Cardinal of St. John and St. Paul.
- I. 166. M. Lombard, to the Pope.
- IV. 18. Louis VII. to the Pope.
- II. 60. [193] John of Salisbury, to the Pope.
 23. The Pope, to the Legates. Lateran, May 7.
- I. 172. [194] John of Salisbury, to M. Gerard.
- III. 95. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Bishop of London.
- I. 154. [196] John of Salisbury, to the Sub-Prior of Canterbury.
- II. 49. [208] John of Salisbury, to the Abbot [Personensi.]
- I. 156. John of Salisbury, to the Bishop of Contares.
 157 [198] John of Salisbury, to Reginald, Archdeacon of Salisbury.
 107. [209] John of Salisbury, to the Bishop of Salisbury.
- II. 88. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Bishop of Worcester.
76. [205] John of Salisbury, to the Prior of Worcester.
85. [206] John of Salisbury, to Simon de Bello.
95. [203] John of Salisbury, to Silvester, Treasurer of Lisieux.
102. [195] John of Salisbury, to Milo, Bishop of Terouenne.
4. Cardinal Otho, to the Archbishop of Canterbury.
 5. M. Lombard, to the Archbishop of Canterbury.
 18. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to Cardinal Otho.
 9. William of Pavia, to the Archbishop of Canterbury.
 10. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to William of Pavia.
 11. The same, to the same.
 14. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to Cardinal Hyacinth.
 20. [212] John of Salisbury, to the Archbishop of Canterbury.
 25. [217] The same, to the same.

- B. I.
- A. D. 1167. II. 8. [223] John of Salisbury, to William of Pavia.
 15. John of Salisbury, to his brother Richard.
 31. [214] John of Salisbury, to the Bishop of Poitiers.
 22. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Pope.
 16. John of Salisbury, to M. Lawrence.
 34. The Pope, to the Legates. Benevento, Aug, 21.
 12. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to William of Pavia.
 13. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to Cardinal Otho.
 30. The Archbishop, to the Pope. Dec. 11.
 27. John of Salisbury, to the Bishop of Exeter¹.
 6. — to the Archbishop of Canterbury.
- III. 13. The Archbishop of Rouen, to the King.
- II. 26. [224] John of Salisbury, to the Bishop of Exeter.
 28. The Legates, to the Pope.
 29. The Legates, to the Archbishop of Canterbury.
 33. The Bishops, to the Pope.
 47. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Pope.
 19. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to William of Pavia.
 89. [210] John of Salisbury, to the Sub-Prior of Canterbury.
 48. [211] John of Salisbury, to Peter de Blois.
- I. 159. [213] John of Salisbury, to M. Gerard.
141. [218] John of Salisbury, to Nicholas of Rouen.
- II. 67. [219] John of Salisbury, to the Archdeacon of Norwich.
 100. The Abbot of St. Remy, to the Pope.
- A. D. 1168. 101. The Legates, to the Bishops of Chichester and Norwich.
 103. [220] John of Salisbury, to the Pope.
 104. The Pope, to the Legates.
 24. The Legates, to the Archbishop of Canterbury.
 109. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to his Envoys.
- I. 27. The Pope, to the Bishops of the Province of Canterbury.
- II. 110. [226] John of Salisbury, to Baldwin, Archdeacon of Exeter.
 36. [227] John of Salisbury, to the Convent of Canterbury.
 105. [228] John of Salisbury, to the Archdeacon of Surrey.
 97. William of Pavia, to the Pope.
 98. Otho, to the Pope.

¹ See Note, p. 275.

B. L.

- A. D. 1168. II. 106. [229] John of Salisbury, to Baldwin.
 111. The Pope, to the Archbishop of Canterbury.
 90. [230] John of Salisbury, to the Bishop of Albano.
 50. [231] John of Salisbury, to Cardinal Albert.
 51. John of Salisbury, to the Bishop of Poitiers.
 65. [233] John of Salisbury, to the Bishop of Poitiers. After April 7.
 68. The Pope, to the Bishops.
 56. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Bishop of Syracuse.
- IV. 59. Louis VII. to the Pope.
 22. Louis VII. to the Bishop of Ostia.
 19. The Queen of France, to the Pope.
 20. Stephen, Bishop of Meaux, to the Pope.
 21. N. Treasurer of Sens, to the Pope.
 28. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to M. Lombard.
- II. 54. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Pope.
 55. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to Cardinal Manfred.
 57. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to Bernard, Bishop of Portus.
 58. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to Cardinals Hubald and Hyacinth.
- IV. 2. The Pope, to Henry II. Autumn.
 32. The Pope, to the Bishop of Worcester.
 17. The Pope, to the Archbishop of Canterbury.
- I. 54. The same, to the same.
- IV. 27. Bernard, Bishop of Portus, to the Archbishop of Canterbury.
 51. The Pope, to Louis VII.
 1. The Pope, to Simon and Bernard.
 4. The Pope, to Henry II.
- II. 108. John of Salisbury, to the Bishop of Exeter.
- III. 7. The Bishop of Poitiers, to the Archbishop of Canterbury.
- V. 9. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Bishop of Poitiers.
- I. 151. John of Salisbury, to the Bishop of Poitiers.
- IV. 23. The Canons of Rheims, to the Pope.
 24. The Archbishop of Rheims, to the Pope.
- III. 11. The Pope, to Henry II.
 29. [269] John of Salisbury, to Simon, Prior of Montdieu, and Engelbert, Prior du Val de S. Pierre.
- I. 103. [270] John of Salisbury, to the Bishop of Poitiers.

- B. I.
- A. D. 1168. IV. 8. Simon, Prior of Montdieu, and Engelbert, Prior du Val de St. Pierre, to the Pope.
9. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to Simon, Prior of Montdieu, and Engelbert, Prior du Val de St. Pierre.
5. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to Henry II.
12. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Pope.
10. Simon, Prior of Montdieu, and Engelbert, Prior du Val de St. Pierre, to the Pope. Feb. 22.
11. Simon, Prior of Montdieu, to Cardinal Albert.
6. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Pope. Feb. 22.
- III. 8. Henry II. to the Archbishop of Sens.
- IV. 7. The Archbishop of Sens, to the Pope.
26. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to William of Pavia.
25. The Abbot and Prior of St. Victor's to the Pope.
- II. 38. [162] John of Salisbury, to Simon and Engelbert.
- I. 124. The Bishop of London, to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Feb. 26.
125. The Bishop of London, to the Pope.
- III. 3. The Pope, to Henry II. Feb. 28.
39. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Bishop of London.
40. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Bishop of London. April 13.
53. Names of the persons excommunicated.
43. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Chapter of St. Paul's.
44. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Chapter of Norwich.
45. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Bishop of Ely.
- II. 72. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Canons of Panteney.
- III. 68. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Clergy of his Diocese.
69. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Archdeacon of Canterbury.
70. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Archbishop of Rouen.
71. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Bishop of Durham.
73. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Bishop of Worcester.
74. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to Gratian.

B. L.

- A. D. 1168. III. 75. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Pope.
 76. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to Cardinals Albert and Theobald.
 78. The Archbishop of Sens, to the Pope.
 1. The Pope, to the Archbishop of Canterbury.
 2. The Pope, to Henry II. Benevento, May 10.
 50. The Abbot of Westminster, to the Pope.
 51. The Abbot of Ramesay, to the Pope.
 42. The Bishop of London, to Henry II.
 46. The same, to the same.
 47. Henry II. to the Bishop of London.
 48. Henry II. to the Pope.
 41. M. William, to the Archbishop of Canterbury. May 29.
 49. The Archbishop of Rouen, to the Pope.
 24. The Pope, to the Archbishop of Canterbury. July 1.
 5. John of Salisbury, to Baldwin, Archdeacon of Exeter. July 11.
 79. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Bishop of Ostia.
 80. [271] John of Salisbury, to Hugh de Gant.
 81. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to William of Pavia.
 82. Baldwin, Bishop of Noyon, to the Pope.
 83. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to John, Cardinal of St. John and St. Paul.
 84. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to Hugh, Cardinal of Bologne.
 85. Godfrey, Bishop of Auxerre, to the Pope.
 86. Maurice, Archbishop of Paris, to the Pope.
 87. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Bishop of Worcester.
 88. The Archbishop of Sens, to the Pope.
 89. Matthew, Bishop of Troyes, to the Pope.
 16. Milo, Bishop of Terouenne, to the Pope.
 90. The Convent of Canterbury, to the Archdeacon of Poitiers.
 91. The Bishop of Worcester, to the Convent of Canterbury.
 92. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Pope.
 93. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Bishop of Winchester.
 94. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Bishop of Winchester.

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| | B. | L. |
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- A. D. 1168. IV.
33. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Bishops.
 49. John of Salisbury, to M. Herbert.
 17. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Convent of Canterbury.
 35. [284] John of Salisbury, to the Convent of Canterbury.
 18. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to ———.
 19. [272] John of Salisbury, to the Convent of Canterbury.
- II.
99. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to Cardinal John of Naples.
- III.
26. Henry II. to the Archbishop of Sens.
 30. The Archbishop of Sens, to Henry II.
 31. The Archbishop of Sens, to Gratian and Vivian.
 12. John of Salisbury, to the Bishop of Poitiers.
 6. ——— to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Sept. 8.
 32. ——— to ———
 27. Vivian, to the Pope.
 20. Henry II. to the Pope.
 21. The Archbishop of Rouen, to the Pope.
 22. The Bishop of Nivers, to the Pope.
 23. The Clergy of Normandy, to the Pope.
 29. Henry II. to the Cistercian Order.
 15. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Bishop of Meaux.
 33. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Clergy of his Diocese.
 34. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Convent of Canterbury.
 35. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Chapter of Rouen.
 36. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Archbishop of Rouen.
 37. Gratian, to Geoffrey Ridel, Nigel de Sacville, and Thomas Fitz-Bernard.
 38. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Abbot of St. Augustine's.
 52. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Bishop of Winchester.
 72. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Clergy of Chichester.
 54. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Pope.
 55. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Bishop of Ostia.
 56. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to Cardinal Hyacinth.

- B. L.
- A. D. 1169. III. 57. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to William of Pavia.
58. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Cardinal of St. John and St. Paul.
59. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Bishop of Portus.
60. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to John of Naples.
- IV. 34. [283] John of Salisbury, to the Convent of Canterbury.
- III. 9. Vivian, to the Archbishop of Canterbury.
10. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to Vivian.
- I. 66. The Archbishop's statement at the Conference at Montmartre.
- III. 61. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Archbishop of Sens. November 18.
62. Vivian, to the Pope.
63. Vivian, to Henry II.
64. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to Gratian.
65. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to his Envoys.
66. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Pope.
67. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to his Envoys.
97. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Bishop of Meaux.
98. The Bishop of Meaux, to the Pope.
77. Gratian, to the Archbishop of Canterbury.
18. [275] John of Salisbury, to the Bishop of Exeter.
- IV. 37. The Archbishop of Paris and Bishop of Noyon, to the Pope.
38. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to Godfrey, Bishop of Auxerre.
- III. 14. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Bishop of Seez.
39. John of Salisbury, to M. Gerard.
- II. 35. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Pope.
- A. D. 1170. V. 3. The Pope, to the Archbishop of Rouen and Bishop of Nivers. Jan. 18.
1. The Pope, to Henry II.
2. The Pope, to the Archbishop of Rouen.
6. The Pope, to the Bishop of Nivers.
5. The Pope, to the Archbishop of Rouen and Bishop of Nivers.
7. The Pope, to the Bishops. Feb. 17.
8. The Pope, to the Archbishop of York. Feb. 17.
10. The Pope, to the Archbishops of Tours, Bourges, and others.

- B. L.
- A. D. 1170. IV. 40. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Bishop of Worcester. Feb. 25.
41. The Pope, to the Bishops.
42. The Pope, to the Archbishop of York.
43. The Pope, to the Archbishop of Canterbury.
44. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Bishops.
45. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Bishop of Winchester.
46. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Archbishop of York.
13. John of Salisbury, to —.
14. Henry II., to the Archbishop of Rouen.
- V. 12. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Bishop of Nivers.
17. The Pope, to the Archbishop of Canterbury.
- IV. 47. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to those who had taken the oath.
48. —, to the Archbishop of Canterbury. From Rome.
- V. 15. The Pope, to the Archbishop of Rouen.
16. The Archbishop of Rouen, to the Archbishop of Canterbury. April 5.
19. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Archbishop of Rouen.
20. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to Cardinal Albert.
21. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to Gratian.
22. The Exiles, to Cardinal Albert.
23. The Exiles, to Gratian.
24. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Pope.
4. The Pope, to the Archbishop of Rouen.
- IV. 36. [277] John of Salisbury, to the Convent of Canterbury.
- V. 11. —, to the Archbishop of Canterbury. From Caen, about June 9.
33. —, to the Archbishop of Canterbury. After June 14.
25. The Archbishop of Sens, to the Pope.
26. The Pope, to the Archbishop of Sens.
34. The Pope, to the Archbishop of Canterbury.
30. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Archbishop of York. Just before July 22.
35. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Bishop of London.
36. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Bishop of Winchester.

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| | B. | L. |
| A. D. 1170. | v. | 37. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Convent of Canterbury. |
| | | 38. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Clergy of his Diocese. |
| | | 39. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Abbot of St. Augustine. |
| | | 42. [278] John of Salisbury, to the Archbishop of Canterbury. |
| | | 43. Henry II., to his Son. After July 22. |
| | | 45. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Pope. |
| | | 46. —, to John of Salisbury. |
| | | 47. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to Gratian. |
| | | 48. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Bishop of Albano. |
| | | 49. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Bishop of Ostia. |
| | | 50. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to William of Pavia. |
| | | 51. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to Cardinal Hyacinth. |
| | | 74. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to Earl Hugo. |
| | | 75. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Bishop of Norwich. |
| | | 63. [279] John of Salisbury, to the Convent of Canterbury. |
| | | 55. The Pope, to Henry II. |
| | | 56. The Pope, to the English Clergy. |
| | | 62. Cardinal Godwyn, to the Archbishop of Canterbury. |
| | | 57. Cardinal Albert, to the Archbishop of Canterbury. |
| | | 58. Cardinal Godwin, to the Archbishop of Canterbury. |
| | | 59. The Bishop of Portus, to the Archbishop of Canterbury. |
| | | 60. Cardinal Hyacinth, to the Archbishop of Canterbury. |
| | | 61. The Bishop of Ostia, to the Archbishop of Canterbury. |
| | | 34. The Pope, to the Archbishop of Canterbury. |
| | | 71. The Pope, to the Archbishop of Rouen. |
| | | 65. The Pope, to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Verulæ, September 10. |
| | | 66. The Pope, to the Bishops. Ferentini, Sep. 16. |
| | | 67. The Pope, to the Archbishop of York. Ferentini, September 16. |

- B. I.
- A. D. 1171. v. 40. The Pope, to the Archbishops of Rouen and Nivers. Anagnia, October 8.
41. The Pope, to the Archbishop of Canterbury.
28. The Pope, to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Anagnia, October 9.
31. The Pope, to the Archbishops of Rouen and Sens.
53. M. Herbert, to the Archbishop of Canterbury. After October 4.
52. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Pope.
54. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to Henry II.
29. The Pope, to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Signia, October 13.
32. The Pope, to the Bishops. Signia, October 13.
68. The Pope, to the Bishops of London and Sarum. Tusculum, November 23.
69. The Pope, to the Bishops of London and Sarum.
44. Henry II., to the Archbishop of Canterbury.
70. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to Idonea.
72. John of Salisbury, to the Abbot of St. Remy.
64. [280] John of Salisbury, to the Abbot of St. Remy.
73. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Pope.
76. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Bishop of Norwich.
77. Giles, Bishop of Evreux, to the Pope.
78. Louis VII., to the Pope.
79. The Bishop of Lisieux, to the Pope.
80. The Archbishop of Sens, to the Pope.
81. Theobald of Blois, to the Pope.
82. The Archbishop of Sens, to the Pope.
83. The King's Clerics, to the Pope.
84. The King's Envoy, to the Archdeacon of Poitiers.
85. The Pope, to the Archbishop of Rouen, and Bishop of Amiens.
86. The same, to the same.
89. Cardinals Albert and Theodebert, to Henry II.
88. Account of the Conference between Henry II. and the Pope's Legates. After Ascension-day.
90. John of Salisbury, to the Archbishop of Sens.
91. The same to the same.
- A. D. 1172. 87. The Archbishop of York, to the Pope.
92. The Pope, to the Chapter of Canterbury. March.
93. The Pope, to the Clergy and People of England.
94. The Pope, to the Bishop of Aversa.
95. The Pope, to Cardinals Albert and Theodebert.
96. Cardinals Albert and Theodebert, to the Convent of Canterbury.
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B. L.

- ¹I. 86. Arnulph, Bishop of Lisieux, to the Archbishop of Canterbury.
- 87. Hugo, to the Archbishop of Canterbury.
- 89. Peter, Bishop of Pavia, to the Archbishop of Canterbury.
- 132. William of Pavia, to the Bishop of London.
- 158. ———, to the Archbishop of Canterbury.
- 178. Arnulph, Bishop of Lisieux, to the Archbishop of Canterbury.
- II. 53. [137] John of Salisbury, to William and Otho, Priors of Canterbury.
- 61. [282] John of Salisbury, to Baldwin, Archdeacon of Exeter.
- 69. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to Gilbert of Semplingham.
- 70. The Carthusian Monks, to Henry II.
- 94. The Pope, to the Archbishop of Canterbury.
- IV. 30. The Pope, to the Bishops.
- 31. The Pope, to John Cumin.
- V. 27. The Pope, to Louis VII.

¹ [To the following letters no date can be affixed.]



ERRATA.

- Page 23, line 2 ; *for ποσσιν read ποσσιν ;*
for γιγνεται read γιγνεται.
Page 76, line 18 ; *for accept read expect.*
Page 80, note ; *for Pontifici read Pontifice ;*
for præjudicum read Præjudicium.
Page 94, note ; *for Henricus read Herveius.*
Page 131, note ; *for cujus, read, cujus.*
Page 148, note, l. 11 ; *for lugemus read lugeamus ;*
l. 12—15 ; from Interim to oramus omit.
Page 151, note 3 ; *for Ecclesæ read Ecclesiæ.*
Page 163, note 4 ; *for Saresbiensis read Saresberiensis.*
Page 165, note ; *for mratyrio read martyrio.*
Page 193, note 1 ; *for Saresbiensi read Saresberiensis.*
Page 204, note 4 ; *for æredemisse read redemisse.*
Page 261, line 22 ; *after milder insert form of answer.*
Page 393, line 20 ; *for along read all along.*
Page 450, note ; *for radium read radicem.*
Page 523, line 4 ; *for could read would.*
Page 527, line 6 ; *for there read these.*
Page 531, line 10 ; *before dull insert a.*
Page 538, note, line 27 ; *after their insert own.*

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